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GDR'S NIER, U.S. DELEGATE DISCUSS MBFR TALKS

LD022108 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1751 GMT 28 Feb 86

[Text] Berlin, 28 Feb (ADN) -- Kurt Nier, GDR deputy foreign minister, and Ambassador Robert D. Blackwell, head of the U.S. delegation at the Vienna negotiations, discussed the current state of the Vienna negotiations today. Ambassador Blackwell is currently in Berlin for consultations with the GDR Foreign Ministry.

Kurt Nier stressed the need to agree on rapid, concrete steps to end the arms race on earth and prevent it in space. He pointed out that the GDR sees in the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit in November 1985 the possibility of advancing on the path of disarmament and introducing a positive change in international relations. The Soviet proposals on 15 January 1986 pointed a feasible, constructive path, the deputy foreign minister stressed, toward finally liberating the world from nuclear weapons through concrete gradual steps and also toward achieving substantial progress in the reduction of conventional weapons. For that reason they were strongly supported by the GDR.

Kurt Nier outlined to Ambassador Blackwell the draft of an agreement on first reductions in troops and armaments in U.S. and Soviet land forces, submitted at the Vienna negotiations by the GDR on 20 February 1986, and expressed the hope that the negotiations that had been in progress for 12 years might at last reach a first agreement.

Ambassador Blackwell spoke about the U.S. attitude on the current situation at the Vienna negotiations.

ZHIVKOV, CASTRO SIGN AGREEMENT IN MOSCOW

AU041930 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 March 86

[Text] Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Fidel Castro signed a program on economic and scientific-technological cooperation at the Bulgarian Embassy in Moscow today. The program covers the period up to 2000 and also represents a program on socialist integration. It aims at increasing the effectiveness of social production, making its goods more varied, and at contributing to more efficient utilization of material, financial, and manpower resources of the two countries. Scientific-technological cooperation provides for joint research and developments, exchange of technological documents and information, as well as for the establishment of joint institutes, scientific research centers, and laboratories, and for an exchange of experts. [Sofia BTA in English at 2003 GMT on 4 March, reporting on the agreement signed by Zhivkov and Castro, adds: "The document outlines the main trends of the specialization and cooperation in metallurgy, mechanical engineering, electronics, chemistry, agriculture and in other branches of the economy. The two countries will cooperate in the construction and development of equipment and plants for the production of refined sugar and other sugar cane derivatives."]

Following the signing of the program, Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Fidel Castro held a friendly talk. The two leaders briefed each other on the topical tasks of socialist construction in thier respective countries. And discussed topical international issues. They declared their common resolve that both Bulgaria and Cuba should pursue their work devoted to the consolidation of the unity of the socialist community and to the struggle for peace. The meeting proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

MLADENOV RECEIVED BY NETHERLANDS PRIME MINISTER

AU041237 Sofia BTA in English 1057 GMT 4 Mar 86

["Positive Assessment to Bulgaro-Dutch Relations" -- BTA headline]

[Text] The Hague, March 4 (BTA Spec. Corr.) -- Today Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Mr Petur Mladenov, who is paying an official visit to the Netherlands, was received by Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers.

In a friendly atmosphere and in a constructive spirit the two sides discussed a number of issues of bilateral interest. Special attention was paid to the development of the relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of the Netherlands which were given a positive assessment. Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Ruud Lubbers stressed the advantages of the intensive Bulgaro-Dutch political dialogue and expressed the wish to broaden it and to raise it to a higher level.

The two sides made a detailed review of bilateral economic and techno-scientific cooperations. They expressed the common stand that the relations in this sphere, which are undergoing a positive development of mutual interest, can be deepened and broadened. In this connection they stressed the necessity for introducting new and more updated forms of cooperation in compliance with the possibilities and the interests of both the Bulgarian and the Dutch side.

The Bulgarian foreign minister and the head of the government of the Netherlands discussed a number of topical issues of the international situation and stressed that the complicated situation which is a result of the arms race can be improved by means of a constructive and business like dialogue.

The two sides also discussed issues of the establishing of relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community. Mr. Petur Mladenov stressed that in its capacity of a chairman of the Council of Ministers of the EEC, the Netherlands could make a considerable contribution to this end.

KHRISTO SIGNS ECONOMIC PROTOCOL WITH GREECE

AU281820 Sofia BTA in English 1811 GMT 28 Feb 86

["Bulgaria-Greece: Promotion of Mutually Advantageous Cooperation" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Athens, February 28 (BTA corr.) -- The 12th session of the Joint Bulgaro-Greek Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation ended in Athens today with the signing of a protocol for the further promotion of the mutually advantageous Bulgaro-Greek relations in the economic sphere. The document was signed by the co-chairmen of the commission: Mr. Khristo Khristov, minister of trade, and Mr. Ioannis Papandoniou, first deputy minister of the national economy of Greece.

Expressing satisfaction with the fruitful work of the session, the two co-chairmen stressed that it will make a concrete contribution to the broadening and deepening of the economic relations between Bulgaria and Greece in the interest of the friendship and goodneighbourliness of the two peoples and of peace and security in the Balkans.

The protocol provides for joint activities in the construction of a plant for alumina in Greece with Bulgarian participation. It outlines the trends of the development of cooperation in the field of telecommunications, ship repair, social insurance and in other fields. It pays special attention to the new and promising forms of the development of economic relations, for the consolidation of the existing and for the establishing of new joint enterprises, etc.

At a press conference for Greek and foreign journalists Mr. Ioannis Papandoniou, first deputy minister of the national economy, expressed the satisfaction of the Greek Government with the work of the joint Bulgaro-Greek Commission. He said that the results of its 12th session confirm the strong political will of Bulgaria and Greece to promote the mutually advantageous cooperation in the economic sphere.

Papandreou Meeting, Departure

AU012008 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 1 Mar 86

[Text] Athens, March 1 (BTA corr.) -- Mr. Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece, received Mr. Khristo Khristov, minister of trade of Bulgaria. Mr. Papandreou expressed his satisfaction with the development of the Bulgaro-Greek cooperation in the field of the economy. He assessed highly the results of the 12th session of the Joint Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientificcooperation, held in Athens, and expressedhis conviction that the mutually beneficial economic contacts between Bulgaria and Greece will continue to develop.

Minister Khristo Khristov met Mr. Constandinos Simitis, minister of national economy of Greece; Mr. Ioannis Pottakis, minister of agriculture; and Mr. Nikolaos Akritidhis, minister of trade. The ministers discussed matters related to the further broadening of the economic cooperation between the two countries.

Minister Khristo Khristov left for Bulgaria today.

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE OPENS IN SOFIA

AU040843 Sofia BTA in English 2022 GMT 3 Mar 86

[Text] Sofia, March 3 (BTA) -- A session of the ruling bodies (the Working Committee and the International Secretariat) of the Christian Peace Conference was opened here today.

It is attended by more than 110 outstanding church and public figures and representatives of churches and religious communities from all continents as well as by representativesof international and regional Christian organizations fighting for peace.

The conference is being hosted by the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and it marks the beginning of this church's initiatives dedicated to the International Year of Peace. The hosting of the conference is an acknowledgement of the active work and high inter-church prestige of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church which is a co-founder of the All-Christian Movement for Peace.

Greeting the participants in the session, the chairman of the Department for Interchurch Relations of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Pankratiy of Stara Zagora, vice-president of the Christian Peace Conference, pointed out that the session will outline the future peaceful tasks of the All-Christian Movement for Peace, ensuing from the socio-political processes in the world, especially after the latest peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union.

Today's sitting was chaired by Bishop Dr. Karoly Toth, president of the Christian Peace Conference. In his introductory speech he dwelled on the international situation an outlined the tasks of the All-Christian Peace Movement in the total disarmament, for eliminating nuclear weapons by the end of the century to which churches and Christians engaged in the movement are contributing along with the other peaceful forces.

COMMITTEE CITES LAG IN WORK ORGANIZATION REFORM

AU042002 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Text] With the participation of Georgi Karamanev, chairman of the Social Council and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Committee for Labor and Social Work held its sixth plenum at the "Lyudmila Zhivkova" People's Palace of culture in Sofia today.

The 1985 activities of the committee were assessed and guidelines for work in 1986 were mapped out and adopted. Georgi Evgeniev, chairman of the committee, read a report. Both the report and the statements following it pointed out that, regardless of the results so far, the work of the organs of the Labor Committee has not yet shown a drastic change in using the efforts of the cadre potential. The application of the brigade organization form and the application of the scientifically based norms for manpower expenditure has not reached the necessary level. Qualification and requalification of the cadres are lagging. In this respect precisely, the efforts of the labor and social work organs will be mobilized and concentrated in 1986.

PEOPLE'S CONTROL MEETING DISCUSSES 'SHORTCOMINGS'

AU042011 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Text] An expanded meeting of the Committee of State and People's Control assessed the activities of the control organs in 1985 in Sofia today.

The new elements in the activities of the control organs are represented by the assistance rendered to economic organizations in connection with implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress for the country's socioeconomic development. This particularly applies to work in consolidating the economic approach in economic activities, as well as to the intensification of national economy on the basis of a dynamically developing scientific-technological progress. A particular contribution was made in this respect by the people's control commissions in which the working people directly participate. Thus, in 1985 the number of people's controllers was 75,000 more than in 1980. The results achieved by certain okrug committees also confirm the efficiency of the control organs' work. The okrug people's and state control committees in Pazardzhik Kyustendil, and Lovech okrugs contributed to saving 822,000 kilowatt hours of electric power. The okrug control committees in Veliko Turnovo, Vidin, and Pernik contributed to the discovery of additional reserves in the national economy which in effect amount to over 8 million leva. The economic effect of the additional reserves uncovered with the assistance of the Sovia City control organs in the production of the Leonid Brezhnev metallurgical plant amounts to 20 million leva. On the basis of these and numerous other examples, the Committee for State and People's Control decided, geneally speaking its organs are correctly coping with the basic problems facing the country and are devoting their efforts to assistance and cooperation in solving problems.

The committee's accountability report, however, also stated that control is not yet sufficiently effective in overcoming numerous shortcomings, weaknesses, and other negative phenomena which are incompatible with the requirements for a further dynamic development of our society.

The statements made about the accountability report pointed out that the new conditions of social administration make necessary for control to be organized for application at all levels of management and adminstration, from the entire plant to the brigade. Control activities must become an important factor likely to create favorable conditions and directly to contribute to the implementation of party and state policy in all sectors of life.

The meeting was attended by chairmen of the okrug committees of the State and People's Control Committee, as well as by leaders of specialized control organs.

LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED IN SOFIA

AU031948 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Mar 86

[Excerpt] Thousands of Sofia citizens and guests of the city came today at the National Assembly Square to take part in the festive tattoo dedicated to the 108th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from the Ottoman yoke. The celebration was attended by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national affairs; Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary; Peko Takov, deputy chairman of the State Council; Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee "Social and National Security Department"; Georgi Georgiev, first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee; leaders of mass political and public organizations; and generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army.

HUSAK, CAMBODIA'S HENG SAMRIN HOLD MOSCOW TALKS

LD041748 Prague CTK in English 1639 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow, March 4 (CTK correspondent) -- Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak met here today with Heng Samrin, general secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the State Council of Kampuchea, to speak about the situation in their parties and countries. Heng Samrin thanked for the Czechoslovak people's solidarity with the Kampuchean people and the material aid granted to his country. During the comradely meeting, the two officials also discussed the development of cooperation between their parties and countries. Gustav Husak and Heng Samrin head their parties' delegations to the 27th congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

BILAK MEETS WITH EL SALVADOR CP, FMLN LEADERS

LD042252 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met Jorge Shafik Handal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of El Salvador, and Ferman Cienfueqos, member of the supreme command [vrchni veleni] of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN], today in Moscow. They exchanged views on some questions of the current international situation. They paid particular attention to the tense situation in the Central American region, and in the Caribbean region. Vasil Bilak expressed the solidarity of the communists and people of Czechoslovakia with the heroic fight of the El Salvador patriots.

Comrade Bilak also had a meeting today in Moscow with Giocondo Dias, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party. They briefed one another about the internal situation in their countries, and exchanged views on current developments in the world. They also discussed matters of the further development of cooperation between both fraternal parties.

GORBACHEV-STYLE MANAGEMENT CHANGES CALLED FOR

AU041443 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Mar 86 p 1

[Lubos Kriz article: "The Courage To Act and Change Outmoded Attitudes"]

[Excerpts] Many people realize it is necessary to wage a more categorical and more radical struggle against mistakes, shortcomings, and malpractices and for a more dynamic advance in building socialism. Yet they have adopted a highly harmful practice. They do not go beyond words. Verbalism is a grave obstacle to our advancement.

In view of this experience of ours, the deliberations of the 27th CPSU Congress represent an invaluable lesson and inspiration. The very interest and, we might even say enthusiasm with which our working people respond to the ideas of Soviet Communists requires profound pondering.

The peculiar psychology and inflexibility and ossification of the forms and methods of management about which Mikhail Gorbachev spoke in the political report to the congress also pertain to many Czechoslovak comrades at various levels of management. "The situation required changes, yet a peculiar psychology began to prevail in central agencies and at the local level: how to improve the situation without changing anything. But this is impossible, comrades.

"As the saying goes, he who comes to a halt even for a moment presently trails far behind. The solution of urgent problems must not be eschewed. Such an attitude is much too costly for our country, state, and party. Let us be frank about it!" Comrade Gorbachev said.

The enormous wealth of ideas and creativity of the 27th CPSU Congress is highly instructive. Yet it will most likely not be spared verbalist practices. It will not take long before people are found in our country who will thoroughly study, and assimilate, the vocabulary with which Soviet Communists approach the new tasks. With their mouths full of highly topical and wise thoughts, they will be obliterating the gist of the problem -- namely, that they have done nothing to bring about positive changes within their sphere of activity.

Mikhail Gorbachev said in the political report: "The need to promote criticism and to step up the struggle against ostentatiousness is more urgent than ever before. The recent past teaches us that where criticism and self-criticism grow silent, where party analysis of the real situation is replaced by verbose talk about successes, there occurs deformation of the party's entire activity and an atmosphere of self-satisfaction. An atmosphere of omnipotence and impunity comes about, the consequences of which are very grave. There were quite a few people at the local and central levels who respond petulantly to criticism addressed to them and who even persecute the people who criticize." [tense of verbs as published]

Refusing to accept criticism and steeling oneself against criticism with a thick skin, fortified by the thick skin of influential acquaintances -- this is nothing unusual under our conditions. Maneuvering on a quite different plane instead of a serious analysis of the situation and a flexible elimination of mistakes -- this is not a rare response to criticism. Using the viewpoint of the 27th CPSU Congress, how are we to evaluate the approach toward a ranking official to whom one ought to mete out a party punishment on the basis of an objective analysis by a commission, yet for whom one at the same time approves a state award on the occasion of his birthday anniversary?

Permissiveness and lack of principles still abound in our everday practice. People who act in an opportunistic manner and weaken the working people's eagerness to change that which is outmoded, antiquated, obsolete and erroneous still cling to their practices. Yet the courage to act and change antiquated and outmoded attitudes must not become stunted in the awareness of a Communist. This courage can be weakened, it can be assuaged for a while, but it cannot be eliminated. The party is too strong an organism to let itself be influenced by a few individuals for whom their personal interests are more important than everything else and who are unable to think and act in a new way.

These lines are addressed, in particular, to those of our contemporaries who have fallen into complacency. Let us not harbor any illusions that everyone's conscience will be awakened at once. It will be better to rely on those restless, upright, and creative people who are the addressees of this quote from the political report that was presented by Mikhail Gorbachev: "If irresponsibility is to be a thing of the past, it is necessary to call things by their right name, to call a spade a spade. It is high time to stop exercising undue respect where it is necessary to manifest exactingness, integrity, and party conscience. No one has the right to forget Lenin's strict warning: 'Phony phrases and phony boastfulness are a moral bane and a sure guarantee of a political bane.'"

HONECKER CONGRATULATES AQUINO ON INAUGURATION

AU040856 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Feb 86 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent the following telegram to the new president of the Republic of the Philippines, Mrs Corazon Conjuanco Aquino:

I congratulate you on your inauguration as president of the Republic of the Philippines. I express my conviction that relations between the GDR and the Republic of the Philippines will continue to be conducted in the spirit of constructive cooperation, to the two peoples' benefit and in the interests of peace and disarmaments.

HONECKER MEETS NICARAGUA'S BAYARDO ARCE IN MOSCOW

DW041940 East Berlin Television Service in German 1830 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Text] In Moscow this evening Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, had a friendly talk with Bayardo Arce, vice coordinator of the FSLN National Leadership Executive Commission. The Nicaraguan politican conveyed the personal greetings of President Daniel Ortega, which were cordially reciprocated by Erich Honecker. Bayardo Arce expounded his country's recent steps for the political relaxation of the situation in Central America. He said that the basis of every settlement would have to be the discontinuation of the bandits' war steered by the United States against Nicaragua. In this connection he also paid tribute to the broad international support for his country and expressed his sincere thanks to the GDR party-state leadership and the citizens for their effective help and solidarity with fighting Nicaragua. He said that the FSLN would do everything in its power to mobilize the country's working people for fulfilling its economic tasks and for guaranteeing the reliable defense of the revolutionary achievements.

Erich Honecker said that the GDR would resolutely support the flexible and consistent policy of the FSLN and the Nicaraguan Government. He said that the Central American country thereby made a Valuable contribution to the world wide struggle for peace and for the peoples' national and social liberation. He emphatically demanded the immediate discontinuation of the imperialist policy of threats and blackmail against free and sovereign Nicaragua. He confirmed that the GDR would continue, in firm solidarity, to stand by the heroically fighting people of Sandino.

Members of both parties' delegations to the 27th CPSU Congress took part in the meeting.

LEUSCHNER VIEWS CPSU CONGRESS, DISARMAMENT ISSUES

DW041637 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 3 Mar 86

[Guenter Leuschner's weekly international review]

[Excerpt] The 27th CPSU Congress which entered into its second stage with Chairman Ryzhkov's report today has impressed us for its climate of businesslike, concrete, self-critical, and self-confident discussions on the tasks and problems that the Soviet society is faced with. No one, not even our adversaries, can deny that impression. The frank discussion on shortcomings and difficulties reveals strength. The debate is characterized by that strength, not by the difficulties.

Intelligent bourgeois observers of this party congress will have realized that, and they will possibly think about the future when that strength and that self-confidence will materialize, so to speak, and will lead to a new dynamism in the economic and even in society, because that will be one of the great results of this party congress, which will be important not only for the Soviet people. A new dynamism of all social spheres will be achieved.

The second result, closely connected with it, will be the further stengthening of the struggle for peace. In my view the basic idea and philosophy of the Soviet disarmament program of 15 January has not been fully recognized by the West. It is no coincidence that in his report to the party congress Mikhail Gorbachev repeats that it is necessary to reconsider security issues, to overcome narrow-minded egoisms, and to overcome those categories of thinking which no longer hold true in our age.

How far away the West is from that approach is shown by the U.S. response to the Soviet program. The point is not for anyone to expect that Washington would immediately adopt the Soviet proposals. Rather, the point is a yes on principle to the intention of the proposals: Let us made an effort, let us try together to reach the goal of a world without nulcear weapons, without unnecessary maneuvering, without conditions, and not in the distant future, but very soon.

That should have been the substance of a serious response containing at least a trace of new reflections and considerations. However, obviously nothing like that is contained in Washington's response. They mark time as usual, they beat about the bush, and they even avoid a simple thing like nuclear test bans. In addition, the United States connects its apparently accommodating approach to Soviet offers -- intermediate-range weapons -- with linkages which are bound to complicate the negotiations.

What else does it mean for the United States to link the withdrawal of intermediate-range missiles from the European zone to the condition that the Soviet Union -- not the United States -- also include its weapons in Asia. They want an advantage for themselves. There it is again, that old narrow-minded thinking in categories of superiority.

Together with a ban on all nuclear tests, the abolition of all U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in Europe would be an excellent result of a second Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. Most people on our continent share that view, and therefore those parts of the Soviet disarmament program have met with much response in West Europe, although not everywhere.

When the daily FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE wrote recently that the zero option, meaning the abolition of all intermediate-range nuclear missiles, was an unreasonable project which only made sense as long as one proceeded on the assumption that the Soviet Union would reject it, that revealing admission was not only an editor's opinion. Some West European politicians also create the impression that the Soviet proposal is very inconvenient to them.

As a newspaper wrote sarcastically, suddenly some people love the Pershing so much that they even find the SS-20's indispensable. Or is the political leeway of action that the United States gives its allies so narrow that they are forced to forget what they said yesterday?

At any rate the contrast between the Soviet Union's clear and courageous concept and some Western politicians' stance on it is very obvious. While that does not surprise us, it does show how difficult it is for the West to drop antiquated ideas.

The fact that the majority of the U.S. House of Representatives asked the administration to start negotiations with the Soviet Union on banning all nuclear tests shows that there is also movement in the United States.

Such development cannot just be dismissed with the remark that such a resolution is not binding on the President. While that may be formally correct, it is not politically correct.

Like the Soviet program of 15 January, the new trends which are gradually gaining the upper hand over the mass of old cliches cannot simply be shrugged off. Perhaps we should wish foreign politicans in the West a bit of the matter-of-fact and self-critical attitude by which the debate at the 27th CPSU Congress is so strongly characterized.

CONSTRUCTION MINISTER RECEIVED BY KUWAITI AMIR

AU251609 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Feb 86 pp 1-2

[Excerpt] Al-Kuwait (ADN) -- On Saturday [15 February] Wolfgang Junker, GDR minister of construction, was received by the amir of the State of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah. Wolfgang Junker conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, which were returned in kind by Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad. At the same time, the GDR politician conveyed congratulations on the 25th anniversary of the independence of the State of Kuwait.

During the friendly exchange of opinions, Wolfgang Junker reported on the GDR's active work to limit the arms race and to preserve peace. It is the need of the hour to support the implementation of the Soviet proposal to totally free the world of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. All forces advocating reason and realism can make their contribution to this. Both sides concurrently stressed that the preservation of world peace is the most pressing current task. They spoke in favor of quickly ending the war between Iran and Iraq by applying a political solution.

While discussing bilateral relations, they stated that the friendly cooperation between the GDR and Kuwait has successfully developed since Erich Honecker's visit and that good prospects exist for further development.

VARKONYI MEETS WITH SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER

LD041121 Budapest MTI in English 1018 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Text] Madrid, March 3 (MTI) — Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, on the way to the first leg of his Central American tour, met Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez in Madrid, on Monday [3 March]. The two politicians exchanged views on topical international issues and bilateral relations. The Spanish foreign minister gave a dinner in honour of Peter Varkonyi.

PARLIAMENTARY GROUP MEETS NAKASONE, ABE

LD042306 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Report by MTI Tokyo correspondent Lajos Pietsch]

[Text] In the last 2 days the Japanese hosts have organized an extremely full program for the Hungarian parliamentary delegation in Tokyo. The delegation, which is headed by Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly, met not only the leaders of the Japanese parliament, but also visited Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro, and Foreign Minister Abe Shintaro. In addition to this the delegation held an exchange of views with politicians and economic leaders who, in their role as officials of the Japanese-Hungarian Friendship Society and the Japanese-Hungarian Economic Club, make it their special business to foster relations with our country.

Though the visit has not yet ended, one can safely say after 2 days that Istvan Sarlos and the delegation he is heading have received not merely a friendly but a cordial welcome. The partners in the discussion, above all Prime Minister Nakasone and Foreign Minister Abe, several times and emphatically, referred to Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar's visit to Japan last September and equally they appreciated highly the significance of the first visit by a head of government in the history of the two countries' relations. After that, as they pointed out, they consider the visit of the parliamentary delegation led by Istvan Sarlos as a worthy continuation which will further consolidate the relations which are constantly strengthening in the political, economic and cultural fields.

The actual host on this occasion is in fact not the prime minister, nor the foreign minister, but the president of the House of Representatives. Thus the visit is an organic part of the series of high-level contacts which have been held regularly for a long time between the two countries' parliaments. The visitors and hosts reciprocally briefed each-other about the work of their parliaments and about all those issues which occupy the interest of legislators in Japan and Hungary. At the same time it was established that the present visit by Istvan Sarlos and the delegation he is heading promotes not only the development of relations between the two parliaments but it contributes in a large measure also to the rapprochement between the two countries and the two peoples.

INDUSTRIAL SEMINAR DISCUSSES GAS, OIL OUTPUT

LD041009 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 3 Mar 86

[Text] Today the series of conferences of industry branches continues with the meeting of managers of crude oil and gas industrial enterprises.

Gyula Czipper, deputy minister of industry, began the consultation by stating that the Hungarian crude oil industry has completed a successful 5-year period; it has produced almost 2 billion cubic meters of mineral gas more than planned. Speaking about plans, the deputy industry minister said that the expansion of the gas supply to households is efficient where there is an appropriate pipeline, because in this way more families may obtain gas for a smaller cost. Natural gas will be installed in nine settlements in 1986. The surplus gas necessary for the population will come from the reduction of gas consumption by power stations, which is made possible by the inauguration of further units in the Paks nuclear power station and by the fact that in the last years of the plan period the import of Soviet natural gas will increase in return for the Hungarian contribution to be made by CEMA countriesin the Yamburg joint investment.

Our correspondent Jeno Merza was present at the consultation of the crude oil and natural gas industry leaders:

In the past plan period 170 settlements have been incorporated into the natural gas network and 200,000 more apartments are being supplied with gas today than were 5 years ago. Investments projects have been completed in Algyo, Szalk and Kiskunhalas. New underground gas reservoirs have been created, and since there was enough to fill these the impact could already be felt this winter; gas supply could be continuous.

The start of the Seventh 5-Year Plan is, despite all this, not easy, stated Gyula Czipper. Last year industrial production grew by less than 1 percent. The impact of this can be felt in this industry branch too. All the same, in 1986 the aim is to produce 2 million metric tons of crude oil and 7.1 billion cubic meters of natural gas. In the past 2 months production went according to schedule. In the current plan period a little over 43 billion forints will be invested in so-called group objective [celcsoportos] projects in this branch of industry. Nearly 13 billion forints are available for investments from enterprise resources. The creation of underground reservoirs continues: now pipelines and distribution systems are to built, and the expansion of the catalytic refining plant is continuing.

The speakers dealt primarily with the consequences of the fall of the world oil price, which mean that even processed goods can be sold only at a lower price abroad. This is the case not only regarding crude oil derivatives, but several chemical industry goods. There were those therefore, who considered a reduction of producer's prices necessary.

Laszlo Kapolyi, minister of industry, in his summary mentioned that the Hungarian economy reacted to the oil price explosions in a delayed manner, which had serious consequences. As he said, in the present situation when we are again witnessing price changes -- although there is a decrease and not an increase in prices -- a decision must be fast although not hasty. He added that those who are in the vanguard of technical development, those who develop continuously are little affected by price fluctuations.

NATIONAL BANK CHAIRMAN EXAMINES TRADE IMBALANCE

LD041412 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Gyorgy Ney studio report on press briefing by Matyas Timar, chairman of the Hungarian National Bank -- date, place not specified]

[Text] Our most important objective is to improve the balance of trade and the current account balance, said Matyas Timar.

He had to emphasize this point because the people's economy in 1985 in the foreign trade sector did not meet the target plans. The surplus of convertible currency trade was smaller than planned, although ruble-accounting trade fared better. But even the two combined fell short of the target. Some of the causes of this underachievement were extra energy imports, to the tune of $300 million; falling export prices in agriculture, which meant another $120 million loss; high interest rates; and, finally but most importantly, unsatisfactory competitiveness. Between 1983 and 1985 our international payments balance registered a surplus. But last year the balance was in deficit. Our convertible currency debts have increased, and so have our interest charges.

At the same time, we have reduced our stock of short-term loans and replaced them with medium or long-term credits which have more favorable stipulations concerning interest rates and repayment periods.

The objectives of domestic credit policy are not going to change this year, either. Demand is expected to be greater for credits than what will be available, so the bank will be more selective when it examines applications. The enterprises most likely to get credits are the ones capable of dynamically increasing their exports or those that contribute to the strengthening of equilibrium by cost-saving programs. Firms producing goods that are competitive in all markets will continue to be given preference, along with investments which quickly recoup their costs.

BRIEFS

SZABO IN COUNTY TOLNA -- Istvan Szabo has visited County Tolna. The member of the party Politburo and chairman of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives first heard a briefing at the headquarters of the county party committee on the results achieved in the County Tolna during the past year and then visited the Szekszard Meat Industry enterprise. Finally Istvan Szabo spoke to the heads of the agricultural large enterprises and institutes of the county about current economic policy questions. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Feb 86 LD]

GDR TRANSPORT TALKS -- Budapest, February 28 (MTI) -- Otto Arndt, minister of transport of the German Democratic Republic, visited Hungary on February 27-28, on the invitation of Minister of Transport Lajos Urban. The ministers discussed topical issues of Hungarian-GDR Transport relations and stated that the relations are settled and have further developed since the last meeting between the ministers, held two years ago. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1044 GMT 28 Feb 86 LD]

MAPRIAL CONGRESS AGREEMENT -- Budapest, February 27 (MTI) - An agreement was signed Thursday in Budapest on cooperation between the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society, the Hungarian representation of the Federation of Soviet Friendship Societies and the Hungarian section of the Pushkin Linguistic Institute. The document outlines the tasks connected to preparations for the 6th congress of the International Association of Professors of Russian Language and Literature (MAPRIAL), to be held in Budapest in August. Representatives of 168 member organizations operating in 69 countries are expected to attend the conference. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1735 GMT 27 Feb 86 LD]

JAILED SOLIDARITY DISSIDENT BIELICKI DYING

AU041928 Paris AFP in English 1435 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Text] Jerusalem, March 4 (AFP) -- Architect Czeslaw Bielicki, 38, a jailed member of Poland's Solidarity movement, is close to death after four-month-long hunger strike, his mother said here Tuesday [4 March].

Josepha Bielecki said her son, accused of high treason, has been in Warsaw's Rakowiacka prison since April, 1985 and went on hunger strike in October for permission to see his two children and to have access to mail and books.

"Czeslaw has already lost 32 kilos (70 lbs.), including four kilos (9 lbs.) in the past two weeks, and is suffering from a dangerous heart condition," she said. "The Polish authorities claim that he is force fed three times a day, although in fact they feed him just once daily."

Mrs. Bielecki said her son was in the prison hospital, which was unheated despite freezing temperatures.

Mrs. Bielecki and her husband, Franciszek, settled in Israel in 1968, but he returned to Warsaw recently and gave her news about their son, she said.

Czeslaw Bielicki spent a year in prison following the March 1968 student riots and decided to remain in Poland, rather than join his parents in Israel.

His mother has appealed for help to the Red Cross, Amnesty International, Pope John Paul II, and Western leaders, including French President Francois Mitterrand and West German Social-Democratic leader Willy Brandt.

URBAN DISCUSSES INDEBTEDNESS, WORK WEEK

LD042123 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 4 Mar 86

[By Waldemar Janiec and Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, March 4: Reactions here to the 27th Congress of the CPSU, Poland's stand on world indebtedness and extension of the workweek in Poland were the main topics raised at today's news conference by Polish Government Spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban.

He told Polish and foreign journalists that as the CPSU Congress is progressing, "The majority of the Polish nation is showing more and more interest in its debates."

The dominant view is that Moscow is planning changes of a historic dimension and that the congress itself is a sign of (?new) changes, important for the world and significant for Poland who is ideologically and geographically close to the USSR.

"Poland's political and state authorities fully support the Soviet time-table of elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century, presented by Mikhail Gorbachev, and all the Soviet plans of ensuring a peaceful future to the world, including the efforts at preventing an arms race in space.

Urban pointed out that the "direction of economic changes in the USSR now being laid down by the (?CPSU) Congress reflects) the Polish aspirations and enhances them. They also give a still firmer basis to the long-range programme of cooperation in science and technology and production between Poland and the USSR," the spokesman said.

"The huge progress planned in the USSR is the chief external support for Poland, allowing her to see a realistic hope for entering the 21st century not as an underdeveloped country," he said, pointing out unprecedented activity of the Polish delegation to the congress and especially the importance of the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Commenting on certain Western publications, which described the recent decision in Poland extending workweek in some of the companies as a blow to workers' rights here, the spokesman stressed Poland continues to adhere to a 42-hour workweek.

Government decree of Feb. 21 permits only some factories or parts of factories to depart from that rule and extend workweek by no more than four hours and without exceeding the eight-hour workday. Even that is possible only after many conditions have been met, Urban stressed, listing the conditions.

He said the actual time spent at workstands last year ranged from 28 to 30 hours, with the nominal workweek set at 42 hours. He added the data proved that there were reserves of labour to be activated without extending the worktime, but also that not too long work was the chief problem for workers who were not demanding more spare time.

He told the journalists the extension move affected less than 400 companies, but he said the trade unions had a different view on the issue than the government.

The spokesman said latest talks with the trade unions allowed to reduce the difference of opinions, and added that "the OPZZ (National Trade Union Group) is right that the first thing to do is use well the basic worktime.

"We expect the unions to take energetic action towards that," Urban said.

Commenting on a recent interview by Father Henryk Jankowski for Austrian daily KLEINE ZEITUNG, in which the cleric formulated particularly insulting statements concerning Poland and the USSR and their authorities, Urban said:

"I am surprised that a [word indistinct] Austrian daily publishes the so untruthful, fanatical and obstinate elucidations by Father Jankowski. Such statements slander the USSR, Poland's internal relations and the policy of the Polish authorities.

"(Such statements) are harmful to the church-state relations in Poland, and I believe also do harm to the interests of the church on a broader than Polish scale," Urban commented, adding that "publication of such nonsense has an air of being provocative and inciting. Any constraints of political reason and decency have been violated here," he said.

In reply to questions, Urban said the Polish authorities had welcomed a Vatican spokesman's statement about readiness to arrange a meeting between Pope John Paul II and Gen. Jaruzelski during the latter's possible visit to Italy, but underlined that no steps to effect such a visit had yet been made by the Polish side.

Asked about Poland's stand on world indebtedness, the spokesman recalled that the stance had been presented by Gen. Jaruzelski before the 40th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

"Poland shares those views which place a particular emphasis on economic development as providing realistic foundations for necessary structural changes in the economies of the debtor countries, and guaranteeing in-time servicing of (?their) debts on the basis of mounting foreign trade turnover," he said.

Other actions, aimed to press out the highest possible servicing quotas from the indebted countries in such a way that it may threaten their further economic development, means an undercutting of a branch one is sitting on, Urban went on. We note that most of the indebted countries share this view. One can also notice a change in the hitherto way of thinking about the problem by the creditor countries, he observed.

Many questions from the FRG journalists concerned the problem raised recently by Stanislaw Kania, member of the chief commission for investigation of Nazi crimes in Poland, that is the rights of Polish citizens to compensations from the FRG for harms and persecutions suffered during the Second World War.

The government shares moral ard legal rights of many victims to obtain individual compensations from the FRG, which, basing on its legal regulations, that country refuses to grant, Urban said and added that the earlier Polish-FRG agreement concerning the among others the question of old-age and disability pensions does not rule out the rights of the victims to seek compensations. Urban remarked that the legal regulations in force in the FRG are so conceived as to bar Polish citizens from obtaining the due compensations.

Answering another question, he underlined that the Polish Government would have been ready to consider claims of the FRG's citizens against Poland, but said "this would have taken place if Poland had invaded Germany, occupied the country, murdered several million of its citizens, destroyed the major part of Germany's national economy and levelled to the ground a vast number of its towns."

Answering another question concerning the protest lodged by the lawyers of student Antonowicz's family in connection with the prosecutor's decision to drop the investigation. Urban said that the complaint forwarded by the plaintiff's counsel did not quote any new evidence which would be unknown in the hitherto proceedings and only contained polemics with the evaluation of the evidence made by the prosecutor in his decision to drop the investigation into the accidental death of the student.

The complaint is subject to consideration and the voivodship (provincial) prosecutor in Olsztyn will announce his decision upon the case, Urban went on.

Urban said that recently, the minister of science and higher education handed down part of his competences to rectors of higher schools. The competences concern, among other things, candidates for the post of higher schools deputy rectors, deans and deputy deans forwarded by departments, annulment to rectors of 21 higher schools, Urban remarked.

In one of the questions, foreign journalists touched upon the case of an affair revealed recently in Gdansk, concerning the smuggling of stolen cars to Poland by Poles living in the FRG, Denmark, France and West Berlin.

"So far, in the course of investigation, police have confiscated 35 cars, out of which 11 ones are sure to have been stolen", Urban said and added that, until now, 23 persons have been charged. Full results will be forwarded when the investigation comes to end, he assured.

JARUZELSKI MEETS POLISH STUDENTS IN MOSCOW

LD042205 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Excerpt] The agenda of the Polish delegation to the CPSU Congress is extraordinarily varied. Numerous meetings and talks are taking place every day.

Yesterday evening, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR, paid a visit to the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee. The guest was greeted by the academy's rector, Professor Rudolf Yanovskiy and a group of the academy's Polish students. At a meeting of the academy's professorial staff, Rector Yanovskiy informed Wojciech Jaruzelski that more than 2,500 students from Poland have graduated from the academy since its inception. Today, 128 undergraduate and postgraduate students are enrolled here. The meeting took place in a warm atmosphere. The Polish students at the academy asked Wojciech Jaruzelski, for a tete-a-tete:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified student] First secretary, we are very interested in your impressions of the congress...

[Jaruzelski] The most important thing here, which we probably all feel, is that this is the opening of a great new stage in the development of the Soviet Union and, taken in a wider context, of socialism; that this is, I would say, speaking dialectically, the result of the accumulation of certain quantitative changes over the years. As the Soviet comrades say, with a certain delay, there comes a time of qualitative transformation, and these factors that the Soviet comrades have at their disposal enable this transformation to take place in this creative, aggressive way, gaining the support of the whole of society, the whole nation. This is the most important thing. The content of the congress is one matter and the other is the response it gets, how it is received, and what the chance is of its being put into practice. One can say the best, the wisest, the most correct things -- we know how it is sometimes, in Poland, don't we; but (?if) the soil is not prepared, the soil is not prepared, or in any case considerably more time is needed to prepare it. The various events, various liabilities that we have, we carry them on our shoulders: (?they) will require much more effort. Here the soil was, as it were, prepared, prepared for that; but one must stress the great courage and the broad horizon of the Soviet leadership and personally, the role of Comrade Gorbachev, that these matters were presented at this very moment and in this way. I think that this will have immense significance, as I already have said, for the whole world of socialism, but a considerably greater significance, on the world scale.

[Unidentified speaker] So it will be easier for us to prepare for our own congress.

[Jaruzelski] Yes, indeed.

[Unidentified speaker] We will return home, some of us will return.

[Jaruzelski] And those who do not will probably follow our congress.

WRITERS UNION EXPERIENCES 'PALACE REVOLUTION'

PM041904 Paris LE FIGARO in French 3 March 86 p 6

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland: Palace Revolution in Writers Union"]

[Text] Warsaw -- The congress of the Union of Polish Writers [ZLP] which has just ended experienced a sudden palace revolution. Most of the outgoing leadership, close to the Jaruzelski team, who had taken over the task of "normalizing" the union, were eliminated. Only 3 of the 12 Presidium members belonged to the previous leadership. All that outgoing Chairman Halina Auderska received by way of consolation was the title of "honorary chairman."

"Moderate Normalizers"

New Chairman Wojciech Zukrowski (70 years old), the author of widely read books, particularly on the war period, is known for having been General Moczar's right-hand man within the so-called "partisans" group and of advocating a nationalist, inflexible, and "anti-Zionist" policy since 1968. When martial law was introduced he welcomed this decision on television and as a result the door of his apartment was blocked by his own books, thrown there by furious readers....

In these circumstances, as Daniel Passent, the excellent POLITYKA commentator writes, "the upheaval within the ZLP is a political event which makes us think." What happened? First, the ZLP was allowed to lose most of its representative nature. The former union comprised some 1,800 members, the present one has only 700 with an average age of 60. The big names of Polish literature like Bryll, Konwicki, and so forth are not members, and it is the clandestine publishing houses which publish many of the best books. The former leadership of the Writers' Union was opposed by a coalition of three forces: those who thought it was time to eliminate people who bear the stamp if not the shame of martial law, those who advocate neo-Stalinist hardline tactics, and finally those who want a nationalist and "anti-Zionist" policy (although there are now only 5,000 Jews in the country).

The Censor Should Turn a Blind Eye....

The "moderate normalizers" fell like ripe fruit because they found themselves isolated since they themselves eliminated from the ZLP or allowed to leave not only opposition intellectuals but also the centrists who could have supported them today. The same coalition could emerge again in the state leadership against General Jaruzelski himself. In this connection the ZLP coup on the eve of the party congress may have opened Gen Jaruzelski's eyes to the dangers threatening him, which he has brought upon himself.

During his first press conference Mr Zukrowski, the new chairman of the Writers' Union, showed his acute mental powers by saying that writers who publish their works in Paris and not in Poland do so by choice, "because they prefer to be paid in foreign currency than in zlotys." Mr Zukrowski could not hide his nationalism and anti-Sovietism when he said: "Some of my books cannot be published in the East because they talk about the Stalinist era, and others cannot be published in the West because I am called a communist. Go to hell all of you!" Zukrowski does not think censorship is a problem because it is always possible to phrase things in such a way that the censor is able to turn a blind eye to it.... However Zukrowski added that "those who have voted for me will be disappointed," suggesting that he will not adhere to the policy which those who elected him expect. That was the only glimmer of hope in the conference.

PZPR RELEASES TEXT OF 1986 DRAFT PROGRAM

AU180601 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU (Supplement) in Polish 10 Feb 86

["The Draft Program of the PZPR"]

[Text] Preamble: Aware of its responsibility for Poland's fates, of the millennium traditions of our people and state, and of the great opportunities and enormous duties presented by the present times, the PZPR presents its program for comprehensively developing our fatherland through further socialist transformations.

Tasks and Opportunities

We are in the fifth decade of Poland's new history initiated by the people's taking power, by social revolution, and by great changes in all areas of life.

Allied with peasants and the progressive intelligentsia and led by the Marxist-Leninist party cooperating with other democratic forces, workers took power and launched the country on the path of socialist changes.

The people heaved Poland out of its war ruins, overcame social and economic backwardness, and created lasting foundations for our independent existence as a state. Our fatherland has assumed a worthy position in the modern world.

Socialist development has not been free from sacrifices, difficulties, error, and failures which have caused social conflicts and crises. The most serious conflict at the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties produced most negative sociopolitical results and has acutely harmed the economy and the working people's conditions.

Poland is facing large and difficult tasks. Making good the time we lost in the crisis years, we have to cope with the challenge of the modern world, keep abreast of changes in civilization, and make increasing contributions to the cause of peace.

Poland must accelerate its development, because only in this way will it be possible to overcome the difficulties of daily living, to meet the needs of our growing population with increasing effectiveness, and to ensure favorable conditions for young people's careers and worthy living standards for the veterans of work and struggle.

This calls for intensively exploiting the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution and for making a radical breakthrough in favor of effective management, justice, and people's rule, and in enriching the life of man and society with humanist values.

Our tomorrow is literally the work of today. History would never forgive the present generations for their inability and tardiness in solving great national tasks. We have the necessary conditions to accomplish these tasks, because we possess a large number of educated people, considerable natural resources, and a strong material and technological base.

The socialist system makes it possible to combine material development and progress in civilization with the idea of social justice and people's rule. It paves the road to effective and mutually beneficial cooperation with the fraternal countries and with our entire community.

The future depends on fully exploiting these opportunities.

Sources of Ideology

The PZPR bases its program on the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development, on the rich experience of the class struggle and socialist construction, and on an analysis of the conditions for the country's development.

Marxism-Leninism is a scientific ideology that enables us to understand the direction and rhythm of historical development, to correctly express the interests of the workers class and the like interests of the working people, and to map out the lines of creating the system of social justice.

The party sees Marxism-Leninism as a vital ideology that always continues to be enriched and whose universal principles continue to be implemented in line with the real conditions and experience of individual nations. This ideology makes it possible to accurately evaluate changing reality, identify new problems, and find the means of effectively solving them.

The PZPR's programmatic inspiration is based on the lessons of the progressive streams in our people's history, the revolutionary and patriotic heritage of the Polish workers movement, the traditions of the "Great Proletariat," the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, the Polish Socialist Party (left wing), and the Polish Communist Party. We are heirs of the Polish Workers Party, which combined the struggle for Poland's independence, just borders, and reliable alliances with revolutionary social changes. We apply the heritage of the left-wing faction of the Polish Socialist Party, which made a crucial contribution to the struggle for social and national liberation. We value highly the militancy of the left-wing peasant movement and of the radical factions of the intelligentsia that supported the struggle of generations of workers.

Our traditions are the source of our ideological prowess, loyalty to the working people's interests, courage to transform reality, and patriotism. We hark back to the achievements of proletarian internationalism, the special expression of which was the joint struggle of the Polish and Russian revolutionary forces.

We bear in mind the thoughts and deeds of outstanding activists and indefatigable fighters for our great cause -- Jaroslaw Dabrowski, Ludwig Warynski, Julian Marchlewski, Rosa Luksemburg, Feliks Dzerzhinskiy, Marcin Kasprzak, Stefan Okrzeja, Adolf Warski, Maria Koszutska, Norbert Barlicki, Stanislaw Dubois, Marceli Nowotny, Pawel Finder, Wanda Wasilewska, Karol Swierczewski, and Wladyslaw Gomulka.

Drawing for experience on socialist construction in Poland, we continue to develop the most valuable features of this construction -- economic development based on the principles of social justice, advancement of the masses, and sovereignty of the state. We continue to build a permanent edifice of socialist renewal and to create with increasing efforts the conditions that protect us against errors and against deviations from socialist principles.

Our program develops the ninth party congress' ideas, which have been elaborated by the Central Committee's work and by the declaration "What we are fighting for, where we are going." These ideas determine the line of socialist renewal and the true meaning of our political principles. The party is determined to continue to follow this line.

Defining its new strategy, the PZPR continues to take advantage of the achievements of other socialist countries, the international workers movement, and the progressive forces in the world.

We attach particular significance to Vladimir Lenin's ever vital and creatively inspiring work, to the CPSU's experience, and to the USSR's historic achievements. At the same time, we regard it as our duty to make our own creative contributions to the development of Marxist-Leninist thought and to the theory and practice of socialist construction.

The Nature of the Program

In its program the party defines the strategic aims of the country's development until the beginning of the 21st century and maps out the most important venues leading to this development. The program, which reaches far into the future, does not prejudge detailed tasks and their implementation schedules. This will be decided by domestic and international determining factors. The program's principles will be detailed by the resolutions of the successive PZPR Central Committee congresses and plenums.

The present generations and those that will soon enter the arena of history will bear special responsibility for overcoming our difficulties and for accomplishing the tasks that will make Poland increasingly stronger, will provide better conditions for our citizens, and will enhance Poland's esteem and authority in the world and the dignity and good name of Poles.

This is the aim of our program. We want it to be enriched by the ideas and deeds of the working people, party members, nonparty people, and all those who care for our country. It is our wish that the young generation should find their opportunities and duties in the implementation of the program and match the achievements of the preceding generations, which continued to erect the edifice of our fatherland -- People's Poland -- in selfless efforts and work.

I. Strengthening Socialism Is the Permanent Line of Poland's Development

Socialism is the permanent line of Poland's development and amounts to the only method through which the working people's mature endeavors and aspirations can be fulfilled, national problems can be solved, and progress in all fields can be achieved.

We are building a system of social justice, the essence of which is to ensure that assets are shared in accordance with the quantity and quality of one's work. This justice is possible because of the socialization of the basic means of production, which is the fundamental prerequisite for abolishing exploitation of man by man and antagonistic class contradictions.

Achieving social justice is part and parcel of the ever more complete implementation of the principles of social equality, of reducing the gap between career opportunities for young people, of creating ever better conditions under which one can avail oneself of political, socioeconomic, and cultural rights, and of alleviating the differences between the rural and urban areas and between manual and mental work. Socialism ensures equality vis-a-vis the laws and respect for man, regardless of his nationality, social origins, and place in the social division of work.

The overriding value of socialism is the good of man, and that is why the party has placed social aims at the top of its program. These aims determine the meaning of socialist changes.

Socialist changes help to increase production forces and labor productivity, to create conditions for planned development which meet people's needs, to improve more intensively the material and spiritual conditions of man's life and to ensure for people living conditions "that are not only satisfactory and progressively better," but "that guarantee full and unrestrained development of the people so that they can use their physical and spiritual abilities," (Marx) Socialist changes make it possible to strengthen truly humanist qualities of man's life and of people-to-people relations and to overcome selfishness and the cult of material things and money. They increase the role of education, ensure wide access to the sources of knowledge, promote culture, and humanize the processes of changes in civilization.

We seek to harmoniously develop the economic base and the awareness of society and to promote material and spiritual values of life. Our answer to the question of how to live is "to possess" and "to exist." Possession should be determined by socially justified needs, which continue to increase, and one should exist as an enlightened, militant, and socially sensitive human being in the epoch of socialism.

As a system through which work has been liberated, socialism bestows the highest status on work because of:

-- the abolition of all exploitation and the introduction of rewards in line with the quantity and quality of work;
-- the universal right to work, which is a source of one's opportunities, a factor in the development and evaluation of man, and man's basic duty vis-a-vis his community;
-- the provision of the technical, organizational, and sociomoral conditions for increasing productivity, improving work safety, and eliminating heavy work.

Socialist progress is impossible without the development of people's rule. The essence of this progress is the working people's universal participation in political government and in the running of economic processes. Mindful of the democratic traditions of the previous epochs, people's socialist rule continues to contribute new values to government, to change its class nature, to ensure the domination of the workers class, to strengthen its alliance with peasants and the intelligentsia, to serve the overwhelming majority of the people, and to safeguard human rights and civic freedom.

The system of social justice is part and parcel of patriotism, of readiness to serve the fatherland, of attachment to culture and the best traditions of the people, and of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity in the struggle for social and national liberation, peace, and democracy. This system favors comprehensive cooperation among socialist countries and full respect for their independence and sovereignty on the basis of the principles of fraternal links, mutual benefits, and mutual assistance.

The universal principles and values of socialism determine the main programmatic aims of the PZPR. Their implementation is part and parcel of the complicated process of socialist construction within an entire epoch of history. This process is slow and takes place with the help of the development of production forces and relations and with the help of efforts to transform political institutions and social awareness. It requires efforts to harmoniously relate current needs to the working people's long-term interests and makes it imperative to reject unrealistic concepts of the artificial acceleration of changes and of the minimization of tasks and to avoid underestimating real opportunities for development.

Our onward road amounts to overcoming various contradictions and eliminating whatever hinders progress and harms the working people's interests. This should be done by combating violations of socialist principles of sharing assets, restrictions on the working people's impact on decisions, and disregard of their opinions, and by efforts to eliminate slavery to routine, sluggish thinking, bad work organization, bad discipline, selfishness, disrespect for public property, backwardness, conservatism, and attempts to weaken the state and to create and aggravate divisions in our society.

The Road to Socialism Under Polish Conditions

The task of our country's long transition period is to create the foundations of socialism in all fields of life -- material-technological, socioeconomic, political, ideological, and international.

This task is accomplished by proletarian dictatorship over a long period of history. This dictatorship's purpose is to serve socialist changes, to implement the working people's interests, and to protect their achievements.

The history of all the states of the world socialist system, beginning with the USSR's pioneering experience, proves socialist changes are productive if they are consistent with general laws and involve:

-- the abolition of capitalist property, the socialization of the basic means of production, and the gradual transformation of production relations in farming;
-- the creation of the material base of socialism with the help of planned economic development, the promotion of scientific-technological progress, boosting social productivity, and improving economic management;
-- efforts to ensure the leading role for the workers class and the management of social development by the Marxist-Leninist party, to develop socialist democracy, to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, and to promote cooperation between the basic classes and the intelligentsia;
-- enrichment and propagation of education, science, and culture as factors in the development of society and individuals;
-- protection of socialism against domestic and external adversaries;
-- proletarian and socialist internationalism, solidarity with the workers class in other countries, unity and comprehensive cooperation among people and countries of the socialist system, and peaceful coexistence with countries with different systems.

With regard to the implementation of these principles, the PZPR is aware of the entire complicated nature of the Polish determining factors and traditions and continues to take over and consolidate that which can be a driving force of progress and which stimulates patriotic and social commitment. It opposes whatever harms the working people's interests, hinders progress, and weakens Poland.

The party continues to consolidate and develop our rich patriotic and progressive traditions of social ideas, democracy, and self-government and wants coming generations to inherit such invaluable elements as attachment to independence, readiness to defend it, national dignity, ability to make sacrifices in the face of danger, and willingness to make intensive efforts in implementing difficult and ambitious tasks. It seeks to overcome the social habit of disrespect for the state, which is a backlash of the times when governments were weak and unable to defend national interests or when governments were of foreign origin and were hostile or indifferent to the people. The party continues to strengthen a sense of the unity of rights and duties, conscious discipline, respect for public property, effective economic management, and an enterprising spirit.

The party is mindful of many factors that determine the political and cultural position of peasants as well as their attitude to land and respect for work.

The party is aware most Poles are believers and that the Catholic Church has played and is playing an important role in the history and present life of our people. The party believes that the socialist interests of our fatherland and the community of aims of the working people are above ideological divisions.

The party is also mindful of the fact that a large number of Poles live abroad.

Aware of Leninist teachings and its own experience, the PZPR is convinced that only respect for general laws of development and the creative adaptation of their implementation to historical and contemporary national conditions are able to ensure a harmonious development of socialism and Poland's prosperity.

Socialist Construction Achievements Are the Enduring Foundation of Poland's Development

Mapping out the path of further socialist changes, the party relies on its experience and achievements as well as on Poland's present situation and the future conditions of its development.

The Manifesto of the Polish Committee for National Liberation, set up by the Polish political left wing comprising communists as well as socialists, peasant politicians, and democrats, in 1944 mapped out the lines of solving our fundamental national problems. These lines were confirmed by life later on. The committee combined the struggle for liberation from the Hitlerite occupation and for the independence and security of the state with profound sociopolitical changes.

Poland began constructing the new system as a backward and ravaged country, bled white by the war and occupation.

At the end of the thirties per capita national income was about 6 times lower than in the highly developed countries, and over one quarter of the rural population was superfluous insofar as agriculture was concerned. Over 20 percent of the population could not read or write. War and the occupation cost us about 6 million people and almost 40 percent of our national assets.

After the liberation our people impressed the world by the speed of reconstruction and began implementing enormous development tasks. From 1946 to 1984, our national income increased 10 times, industrial production 40 times, and farm production 4 times. Poland has changed into an industrial-agricultural country and has reduced by more than half the gap between it and the world's economically leading countries.

The implementation of the party program and the political ideas of the left wing has ensured for Poland sovereignty, a worthy place in Europe, a return to the ancient past lands, and their integration and speedy development. The fraternal alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries and Poland's participation in the political and defense Warsaw Pact and in CEMA have become the foundations of our country's security and peaceful development.

The socialization of industry and the farm reform abolished the chief sources of expoloitation and antagonisms, Socialist property relations hold sway in the economy. The abolition of big landed property and of the big and medium bourgeoisie, as well as industrialization, urbanization, mass migration, and democratization of the state, education, culture, and people's awareness have radically changed the structure of society and the culture and awareness of the people. Differences among basic classes and groups no longer effect profound divisions and acute contradictions.

The new system has ensured for the workers class rapid development and the position of the dominant social force. The political responsibility of the workers class for all people continues to strengthen. Workers social and moral ideals continue to spread with the help of the implementation of the principle that personal assets can be secured through one's own work and through efforts to raise its importance.

Profound changes have consolidated the foundations of the worker-peasant alliance and have raised the position of peasants, who share in the running of the country.

The differences in social benefits for urban and rural inhabitants have been crucially reduced, and working and living conditions in villages have changed.

The standards of education have greatly improved. Every fourth adult Pole possesses a secondary education, and about 1.5 million persons are university graduates. A new intelligentsia has come into being, and most its members are of worker and peasant origins.

Socialist changes have created great opportunities for the young generations and formally abolished and radically limited the material barriers to education and culture. Young people have become active participants in sociopolitical life.

The social situation of women has changed profoundly. Socialism has ensured for women extensive opportunities for education, profession, and vocation, has made them materially independent, and has made it possible for them to participate on equal terms in social and political life. A new model of the family based on the equality of the rights and duties of spouses is being created.

Unequal Development

The achievements to date indicate the foundations of socialism have been created in most areas of life and that many of the tasks of the transition period have been accomplished. The socialist production method rules the roost, state authority is socialist, the Marxist-Leninist party plays the leading role, and Poland is a permanent element of the system of socialist states.

However, the extent to which political changes have been carried out in unequal at the base and at the top. A differentiated setup of the ownership of the means of production continues to exist in the economy, especially in farming. Private property, and within it small capitalist elements, continue to exist side by side with public property, which plays the decisive role. Differentiation of the structure of society is the result of differentiation in the ownership of production means. The workers class, linked to the peasants and the intelligentsia through the community of basic interests, occupies a dominant position. Aside from these strata there exist class groups of the petty bourgeoisie and very small groups of small capitalists in urban and rural areas. This fact gives rise to social contradictions based on classes.

The still unsatisfactory standards of economic effectiveness, especially of social productivity, limit our potential to meet social needs and to develop production forces. Millions and millions of production workers are still required to work strenuously with their muscles. Responsible and conscientious attitudes toward work and national assets go hand in hand with negligence, bad management, bad organization, and poor discipline. The weakness of the wage and bonus system, aggressive and illegal methods of making fortunes, and various forms of profiteering are responsible for various infringements of the rule that wages are paid for work done and result in the fact that part of the national income goes into unauthorized pockets.

There are also differences in social awareness. The ideas of justice, equality, and people's rule are a consolidated system of values for most of our people, but their influence on the conduct of many people is much weaker. Some people make unjustified claims for benefits from the state and the economy and fail to see the connection between production and living standards.

Features alien to socialism, such as selfishness, greed, indifference to the common good, getting rich at any cost, and abuse of official positions continue to exist in our country and to flare up from time to time. Disrespect for the laws, pooh-poohing norms of community life, and social wrongdoing and misconduct are common occurrences, but the most widespread vice is drunkenness.

The ideological struggle continues in the area of culture and upbringing. Progressive and reactionary traditions, original ideas, ossified schemes, and various views and doctrines continue to clash in that area.

Complicated and historically determined conditions of the construction of our new system, unceasing ideological pressure from the imperialist forces, activity of domestic opponents, and errors of party and state policy and the resulting social conflicts and crises were responsible for the unequal socialist changes. The most profound social crisis at the beginning of the eighties caused our economic retreat and disintegration of large areas of social awareness.

These difficulties and tensions were rooted in the violation of the principles and general laws of socialist construction and in the insufficiently realistic and creative approach to specific national conditions for implementing these laws. Especially negative effects were produced by the violations of the Leninist principles of party life and moral norms, the helplessness of socialist democracy, voluntarism in running the economy, and especially, the excessive investment program and the dangerous dependence of the economy on capitalist loans. Errors in social policy and neglect in ideological and educational activities, especially among young people, were conducive to the spread of one-sided consumerism. The premature thesis that the people achieved moral-political unity, when in fact there were divisions among them, obscured the true picture of the class forces and social interests and aspirations and resulted in down playing the militancy of the opponents of socialism and the support given them by international imperialism.

A lack of reliable Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the position and development trends of our people was responsible for the fact that contradictions were identified and solved too late, especially the contradictions between the relatively high level of production forces and the growing aspirations of people, on the one hand, and the socioeconomic structures that were not reformed in time and the way of government that limited people's rule, on the other. All this weakened people's trust in the party and the state and facilitated activities by the forces hostile to socialism.

Defining the speed and methods of implementing the general laws of socialist construction in Poland, the party considers lessons of the above experience are of lasting significance and are a warning and directive for action.

Development as the Way To Overcome Contradictions

Creating a new system involves continuity and changes and is a process of achieving universal aims and lasting values of socialism consistent with the historical laws of its construction. It is also a process of continuous reforms, the essence of which is to transform the forms of social life, political and economic structures, and the method of government. It is a process to adapt these structures and government to the actual level of production forces and social awareness and to the specific conditions of socialist construction and by which contradictions are resolved.

Going from capitalism to socialism is not a simple operation of developing the values of the new system, but is a complicated process in which the "old" still lives side by side with the "new" and the remnants of property and class antagonisms are still there. This can be seen in the opposition between the working people and the groups that seek to acquire and increase their capital, between the aspirations of the workers class to socialize the economy and government and the aspirations of groups

To exploit other people's work and acquire privileges, and between the tendency to achieve accord on the platform of constitutional principles and well conceived national interests and the tendency to antagonize the people.

The existence of the world systems is responsible for the acuteness of political and class contradictions. The present rivalry between capitalism and socialism is marked by the connection between the domestic class warfare within individual societies and that in the international arena. Imperialism continues to support domestic opponents and seeks to weaken socialism and exploit the difficulties of socialist construction.

Nonantagonistic contradictions also continue to assert themselves in Polish society. These contradictions are between the interests of various social groups and changes in the material and technical base, on the one hand, and the organization and methods of management, on the other; between the basic interest of the workers class and the awareness of some groups of this class; between those who work effectively and those who shirk work, work shoddily, and abuse social benefits; between general social needs and various parochial interests; and between ad hoc goals and long-term goals.

The experience of People's Poland shows that both ignoring contradictions and exaggerating and badly resolving them result in social tensions, hinder development, and may become sources of conflicts and even crises that enable counterrevolutionary forces and trends to take action.

Aware of the complicated nature of the process of socialist construction, the party carefully approaches its contradictions. It resolves antagonistic contradictions in the course of class struggle and of nonantagonistic struggles by identifying and rationally merging the interests and aspirations of the individual social groups, by reconciling immediate needs with long-term needs, by improving political and economic life, and by overcoming negative phenomena in social life.

Ability to identify contradictions and to discern in time new problems and tasks, consistent observance of the interests of the workers class and the working people in solving these problems and tasks, lively daily contacts with people, criticism and self-criticism, and readiness to eliminate errors and change obsolete forms of activity are the prerequisites for achieving the party's programmatic goals and for effectively managing the socialist development in the service of Poland, the working people, and the nation.

Tasks in Successive Stages -- Overcoming the Results of the Crisis and Completing the Development of Consolidation of the Foundations of Socialism

The realistic evaluation of the present socioeconomic and political development and of the conditions for changes until the end of this century and the beginning of the 21st century makes it possible to single out from the party program two basic groups of tasks and two basic stages of their accomplishment.

Stage one will cover the second half of the eighties and its main task will be to overcome the results of political upheavals and the economic breakdown, to strengthen the foundations of socialism, the principles of social justice, and people's rule, and to implement forward-looking socialist reforms of the functioning of the state and the economy.

The following top tasks are envisaged for this stage in the sociopolitical field:

-- To consolidate the leading role of the workers class and to tighten its alliance and cooperation with peasants and intellectuals;
-- To strengthen the party's leading role in the state, its guiding role in society, and servant's role vis-a-vis the workers class and the nation;
-- To fully rebuild the class trade union movement and to expand its social functions;
-- To consistently implement the line of patriotic accord; to expand the social base of the Patriotic Movement for National Agreement [PRON] and to develop the movement; to wage an indefatigable political and ideological struggle against opponents of socialism; to purge social life of wrongdoing and other features of misconduct, and to care for the moral health of society;
-- To rebuild and develop a uniform socialist front of education and upbringing;
-- To make the socialist state highly efficient; to rationalize government and management; to more fully exploit democratic mechanisms of government to promote civic initiative and militancy; to strengthen the social rule of law and discipline; and to effectively counter red tape, indifference, administrative excesses, and a return to arrogance and voluntarism.

The main socioeconomic tasks at this stage will be:

-- To achieve economic balance, primarily through raising productivity, improving production quality, and rationalizing employment (including extensive verification of jobs); to conserve raw materials and energy and to better exploit production assets; and to fully utilize the economic reform instruments for this purpose;
-- to halt the disinvestment [dekapitalizacja] machines and equipment, to intensify investment and modernization; to speed up scientific-technological and organizational progress; and to initiate radical changes in the structure of the economy;
-- to increase the level of consumption; to ensure a regular flow of food to shops; to increase the flow of industrial consumer goods and services; and to reduce inflation;
-- to accelerate construction and improve the conservation of existing housing; to develop the base of health protection and education, and to halt the pollution of the natural environment;
-- to make radical changes in wage policy so wage ceilings are more effectively related to production and high productivity and innovations and thrift are boldly rewarded; to provide protection for the poorest groups of people; and to effectively eliminate greedy and dishonest gains, profiteering, parasitism, bribery, and so on;
-- to consolidate the policy of promoting cooperation with the socialist countries and to increase Poland's share in socialist economic integration, while gradually normalizing our economic relations with capitalist countries.

Achieving these goals calls for changing and developing the principles of the functioning of the economy and for consistently implementing the economic reform.

The implementation of the tasks of the eighties will create conditions for accelerating socioeconomic development and thus radically improving people's conditions and intensifying socialist transformations in the period up to the end of this century and the beginning of the 21st century. The top tasks in this connection are:

-- to continue a speedy vocational and cultural development of the workers class; to strengthen its position in and influence on the country; to radically improve the difficult working condition and increase production equipment; to continue to tighten the alliance of the basic social classes and strata; to eliminate the sources of antagonistic social contradictions and inequalities; and to radically reduce the differences between manual and mental work;
-- to intensify and consolidate socialist changes in social awareness; to modernize national education in line with the present challenges of scientific and cultural progress; to make secondary education available to everyone; to radically increase

participation in culture by speeding up and modernizing printing, cinema, music, and video facilities; to greatly increase the achievements of Polish science and its role in resolving practical problems in all areas;
-- to develop the socialist political system in such a way that, while preserving its class nature, the state is able to develop more fully its democratic features and national functions; to achieve high standards of the processes and forms of people's rule; to increase the role and to fully utilize the decision-making powers of the people's councils, workers self-management groups, and other self-management groups; to boost the prestige, militancy, and attractiveness of social organizations; to ensure a high efficiency of the operation of the laws; and to transform and modernize the structures and organization of state administration;
-- to radically modernize production potential; to speed up and greatly advance its structural changes; and to overcome its disproportions; to radically increase the effectiveness of economic management through scientific-technological progress, especially with regard to technological machines and equipment, transportation equipment, comprehensive automation of production processes, robots, data processing, microelectronic, the production of new materials, material- and energy-conserving technologies, and the exploitation of nonconventional energy sources;
-- to exploit the production potential of farming to an ever increasing extent, to effect technological reconstruction of farming; to make the country self-sufficient in food; and, at the same time, to increase farm produce exports;

-- To closely relate increased personal incomes to increases in productivity and work quality; to ensure a reliable availability of consumer goods by greatly increasing the flow of such goods and services and by improving their quality and design; to meet basic housing needs in line with the principle that every family should possess its own apartment; to crucially improve the conditions of retired people; to develop the automobile industry so that people are able to own cars on easy terms; to meet needs regarding telephones; and to promote the development of modern communications media such as video equipment, satellite television, and minicomputers;
-- to radically improve the natural environment and solve the problem of clean water;
-- to considerably increase social funds for health, education, upbringing, science, culture, sports, recreation, and social care;
-- to strengthen public ownership and self-government; to increase the working people's genuine participation in production organization and management; and to intensify modernizing and socialist changes in rural areas to improve conditions of rural people and to modernize farm production;
-- to radically increase Poland's share in international production, especially with regard to socialist economic integration; to promote exports, and to greatly reduce debts.

The aims and tasks programmed for the two periods are most closely connected and constitute a uniform and expanding process of socialist development, comprehensive improvements in living standards, the consolidation of Poland and its international position and security, and the achievement of increasingly ambitious goals.

Opportunities for doing this are extensive, and we have to exploit them. In the present times mediocrity is out and so are half-hearted efforts and poor results of work. Nowadays it is necessary to gear efficient and well-organized work and discipline to courage in transforming reality, to bold searches for better solutions, and to a flow of initiative and innovation.

This is the road to completing the construction of the bases of socialism. The completion will enable us to enter new stages of social development and of creating the material and spiritual conditions of developed and mature socialism. However, the inequality of the development of socialist changes in Poland is responsible for the fact that the tasks stipulated for individual sectors at various stages have to be accomplished at the same time and side by side.

II. The Workers Class Is the Leading Force of Socialist Changes

Socialism comes into being and develops as a result of the workers class' conscious and organized militancy. Freeing itself from exploitation, the workers class frees all the working people. Increasing its own rights and improving its conditions, it does the same for a decisive majority of the people.

Extending the impact of the workers class on all fields of social life, stimulating the further vocational, material, political, and cultural advancement of workers, and strengthening their alliance with peasants and intellectuals are our political principles.

The party sees that these principles are fulfilled. Acting as the working people's spokesman and expressing the interests of the workers class, the party counters all attempts to weaken workers class orientation, to ignore their interests, and to adopt an indifferent and bureaucratic attitude toward man.

The party seeks to increase the influence of the workers class on government and its share in economic and social decisions, in discussions and consultations, in control, and in educational activities.

At the same time, the PZPR is decidedly against negative phenomena such as class selfishness, parochialism, demagogy, disrespect for public property, neglecting work, and ignoring civic discipline.

We want to ensure that the best class virtues are possessed by all workforces and every worker, and that all worker echelons and communities are increasingly ready to play the role of the country's master.

Roads to Advancement of the Workers Class

The PZPR attaches special importance to creating conditions for comprehensive advancement of the workers class, to strengthen its alliance with peasants and intellectuals, to reduce class differences, and bring the basic classes and strata of society closer to one another.

The process of the development of our workers class continues. Today this class is composed for the most part of the people of high educational and aspirational standards. Social justice and people's rule have a permanent place in their system of values. However, our workers class is historically young and hails for the most part from nonindustrial communities. It is internally differentiated in education, qualifications, jobs, residence, susceptibility to workers class traditions, and the actual share in management and government. A conscious attitude toward work, solicitude for public property, and respect for those who work effectively are not universal features.

As a social group, workers play a double role -- as the class that rules and works. This phenomenon produces complicated problems and, at times, contradictions. That is why our important programmatic task is to propagate among workers, especially the young ones, traditional worker virtues, the ethos of work and management, high vocational ethics, and a sense of responsibility for plants and the country.

The present changes are the foundation for the further advancement and of the workers class and for efforts to enrich the nature of workers' domination in the economy, politics, and awareness.

Technological and economic progress is of key significance in this. When work becomes easier, dangers to workers' health will be greatly reduced. Plant modernization will enable more and more people to work with the help of modern equipment and technologies. The spread of skills that require high qualifications, involving more than just the manual handling of machines, will help reduce the gap between physical and mental work to an ever increasing extent. The importance of innovations and of production work that is planned, organized, and evaluated by worker teams will increase.

The cultural and educational advancement of the workers class will be promoted with increasing effectiveness by the development of national education and by leveling off the conditions of education. The workers' opportunities to achieve vocational mastery, increase knowledge, and acquire new qualifications, including university qualifications, will increase.

Convinced that the status of the workers class in economic and social life should be matched by its impact on national culture, the party will promote creative work dealing with workers ideals and values, remove barriers against workers participation in culture, and encourage all forms of workers' cultural activities.

Masters of the Socialist Enterprise

The daily issues of the workers' position and advancements are primarily determined in production enterprises, where conditions will be created for harmoniously promoting the material and moral incentives for work, the integration of workforces on class foundations, self-management, competition, the movement of rationalization and inventiveness, and the development of cultural, educational, and social functions of enterprises.

It is the party's duty to consistently strengthen the socialist nature of relations in enterprises, to eliminate features that conflict with justice and respect for the dignity of the working people, and to resolutely combat cliques, nepotism, abuse of official positions and social benefits, lack of discipline, and wastefulness.

Enterprises should rely on outstanding workers with developed class attitudes and should take advantage of their qualities and experience. Such workers are most effective in developing young workers' pride in their vocations, habits of collective activity, and respect for work.

Strengthening the achievements that make up the system of workers' democracy is a programmatic task. Developing correct relations with the independent and self-governing trade union movement, the PZPR will support its measures that favor workers interests, implement the principles of social justice, and help organize the workers class for activities such as increasing productivity and boosting its results.

A very important task is to develop and strengthen workers self-management groups, which create the feeling that work forces are really responsible joint masters of enterprises, intensify the social character of the management of production equipment, encourage effective economic management, and help promote social relations of work and principles of living side by side.

It is necessary to increase the role of enterprises and work forces in the local communities, in the places of residence, and in the activities of the people's councils and local civic self-government.

Readiness and skill in accomplishing such tasks are a measure of the effectiveness of party organizations in plants. Their position and duties should be governed by institutional and legal enactments.

Alliance With Peasants and Intellectuals

The workers class continues to realize its historic mission in alliance with peasants and intellectuals. Socialism is a common value and future for all working people in urban and rural areas. Workers, peasants, and intellectuals earn their own living, are interested in raising the status of their work, in observing the socialist principles of wages for work, and in promoting people's rule, and are against exploitation.

However, this does not mean they have no differing class interests, which can and should be consistently eliminated through accord and cooperation.

The party will promote the policy of the worker-peasant alliance. The foundation of this policy is the community of interests of the two classes, and the worker-peasant government is the political expression of this policy. Patriotic and enlightened intellectuals dedicated to the ideals of socialism are valuable allies of the workers class and add to the value of its leadership. Caring for the development of the links of the workers class and peasants with intellectuals, the party will foster respect for intellectual achievements and stimulate ambitions and incentives for creative thought and commitment to the development of the socialist fatherland.

III. Goals and Tasks of the Country's Socioeconomic Development

It is the party's duty to develop economic processes so they promote the interests of the workers class and working people in urban and rural areas and add to the nation's prosperity. Ensuring consistent increases in real personal incomes, good conditions for young people's careers, and a worthy existence for retired people; solving the housing problem; effectively protecting the natural environment; and promoting health service, education, and culture can be done on the basis of the well organized, efficient, effective and modern economy. Developing production forces, improving production relations, and boosting social productivity are the basic means of achieving the overriding goal of better living standards for the working people, of material affluence, and of the socialist way of life.

Internal and External Determining Factors

In programming these tasks, the party realistically evaluates the determining factors and potentials of developing.

In the coming 5-year periods increases in manpower will be exceptionally small, but there will be many people in the pre- and post-production ages. In 2000 there will be 40 million of us, including about 25 percent children and youngsters of school age and about 15 percent old people.

Many production machines and pieces of equipment are in an advanced state on wear and tear. At the beginning of the eighties when our national income was extremely low, consumption was ensured at the cost of material investments, and this has delayed the replacement and modernization of production assets. This situation was worsened by serious and at times punishable acts of negligence in the exploitation of machines, equipment, and rolling stock. The present state of these assets is responsible for the deterioration of the quality of products, for increasing production costs, and for the widening of the technological gap vis-a-vis highly developed countries. The high degree to which funds have been committed to unfinished investments begun in the seventies continues to restrict the room to maneuver for investment policy in the eighties. At the same time, existing production capacities are not being fully exploited.

Fuel and energy restrictions continue to become increasingly acute. We will be able to increase only very slightly the production of coal -- our main natural resource -- by the end of this century. The costs of extraction continue to increase. Even to maintain the present level of extraction requires large investment outlays. We must increase the share of lignite in our fuel and energy resources. In order to meet the country's increasing energy needs we will have to speed up the development of nuclear energy.

Ensuring the import of crude oil, natural gas, ores of iron, manganese, and of other metals, phosphorites, and nuclear fuel is of fundamental importance. Our own sources of these items will not play any major role in the coming years. The fact that our opportunities to continue to import these fuels and raw materials may eventually be curbed calls for intensifying our geological prospecting for new resources and for exploitation of resources already identified.

The necessity to pay interest on our debts is responsible for the fact that the national income to be shared will be for many years lower than our gross national income. That is why we must closely relate the solution of the problem of debts to the maximum exploitation of all the untapped production potential, to the development of production capacities, and to effectiveness and thrift of economic management. We must boost our economy's capacity for export and greatly increase our income from selling Polish goods and services abroad. Only in this way will it be possible for us to purchase more raw materials, investment equipment, and the most modern technologies required to speed up the development of our economy and, at the same time, improve our payment situation and the working people's conditions.

Poland is one of many countries that have debts to repay. We are for a global settlement of this problem in such a way as to enable all debtors to pay off their debts without damaging their opportunities for development.

In a situation in which our economy is facing difficulties with raw materials, energy, manpower, investments, and debts, the opportunities for extensive development are definitely not there. Our people are facing a very acute problem: Either the present low effectiveness of economic management stays with us and production increases will approximate increases in production assets, which will mean stagnation or even deterioration of conditions for the rapidly increasing population; Or we greatly increase the effectiveness of economic management so that production increases will outstrip increases in production assets and it will be possible to speed up the development of the economy.

The party is decidedly for the second alternative and will sponsor the necessary comprehensive organizational, institutional, technical, and structural measures for this purpose. We have the necessary potential and opportunities, the real basis of which are the comprehensive material and intellectual achievements of People's Poland in the past 40 years.

Principles of the Party's Economic Strategy

The aim of the strategy of intensive socioeconomic development is to ensure consistent improvements in the conditions of the people, to participate more extensively in world progress, and to strengthen the country's economic security.

In the next 10-15 years radical improvements will be of decisive importance in economic effectiveness; this means the total and rational exploitation of manpower and its productivity and better exploitation of raw and other materials, fuels, energy, machines, and equipment. This means achieving greater result with the same resources. When the people focus their efforts on raising economic effectiveness, it will be possible to achieve more rapid socioeconomic progress as a foundation of permanently improved living conditions. Experience shows it is impossible for a long time to maintain living standards that take no account of economic reality. Neither foreign debts nor drastic reductions in investments are a remedy, because such measures are against the interests of the people now and in the future.

To ensure effective development and to meet social needs more effectively, it is necessary in the immediate and distant future to make changes in the proportions of the sharing of the national income. The party is for such proportions between consumption and capital stock formation that make it possible to improve living standards while expanding and modernizing the production potential in the best possible way.

In the coming 5-year period, it will be necessary to increase the share of investments in the national income to halt disinvestment of production assets and ensure their modernization. However, increases in investments should not affect the standard of living. To reconcile these two tasks, it is necessary to improve economic management at every level, that is, to fully and consistently implement the aims and principles of the economic reform.

The following factors will be of decisive significance for the production of the national income:

-- man, his work, creative attitudes, initiative, enterprising spirit, perseverance, and patience in overcoming difficulties;
-- efforts to change the structure of production with a view to increasing its effectiveness;
-- rapid scientific-technological progress;
-- better exploitation of the virtues of the international division of production, especially within CEMA;
-- changes in and development of the system of the functioning of the economy, increased effectiveness of economic mechanism and instruments, and consolidation of the independence of enterprises and of the strategic functions of central planning.

We have before us, to the end of this century, two closely related periods of socioeconomic tasks:

-- In the second half of the eighties, the level of the national income and consumption will reach the level that prevailed at the end of the seventies. At the same time, the qualitative factors of increase will be improved and will be used on a wider scale, economic balance will be restored, and development tasks will be tackled one by one through increases in investments and by speeding up the modernization of production assets;
-- Intensive development processes will be promoted in the nineties, and people's living standards will be continually significantly improved, with the help of increased effectiveness of economic management, greatly accelerated technological progress, and stabilized economic balance.

By the year 2000 it will be possible to increase per capita consumption by about 50 percent, which is a difficult but feasible task and which will call for a 75-percent increase in the national income. Because of the limited possibilities of increasing manpower in material production, it will be necessary to boost productivity by 60-70 percent and to lower material- and energy-intensiveness of the national income by 30-40 percent. Having achieved this crucial breakthrough in our economic management, we will be able to reduce the technological distance between us and the top countries. These are our vital needs and historic opportunities.

The Goal of Our Policy Is To More Fully Meet the Needs of Working People and To Promote Social Justice

Increased production and quality of goods and services, better housing conditions, a larger base of education, culture, and health service, and the development of the entire social infrastructure are the material foundations for meeting people's various needs.

In our concrete vision of social progress, we must not succumb to unrealistic "social romanticism" or to the inclination to reduce tasks because of the present difficulties and shortages. The party does not want to make exaggerated promises. It wants to lead the people to realistic achievements because it knows that creating firm improvements in living conditions must be done through production.

The PZPR seeks to harmoniously reconcile socialist social justice with the requirements of effective economic management. That is why it will develop proportions between individual and collective consumption. At present, it is the increase in individual consumption, combined with the increase in productivity, that is our top problem. In the immediate future, wages will continue to be the main factor in increasing the conditions of worker families.

The party takes the view that the level of collective consumption must not be lowered and that it is necessary to selectively develop social facilities. Collective consumption funds must be shared equitably. Social benefits, grants, scholarships, and other social assistance must be received only by the persons, families, and groups who really need assistance. In determining old age and other pensions we will take years of work into account. Pensions will be consistently increased.

Giving priority to individual consumption and to the material incentives in this connection, we will pay attention to speeding up collective consumption in the coming years. We will create conditions for more fully and effectively meeting the needs of our people, especially in health, education, culture, recreation, tourism, and sports.

The party will consistently develop a model of consumption that combines motivation and strong incentives for increased productivity with social security and conditions for meeting basic needs.

To improve the flow of goods and to achieve permanent money-market balance we must pay attention to:

-- efforts to increase the production and flow of food so that consumption can be increased and rationalized [racjonalizacje];
-- efforts to increase industrial production and to change its structure so that the flow of durables can be enriched and differentiated and mass consumer goods can be given priority;
-- efforts to counter inflation through strictly gearing wages and other personal incomes to increases in productivity, to the increased flow of goods, and to the policy of retail prices based on economic principles.

To better meet food needs, we must increase the production, quality, and variety of food items. Changes in this regard, which are a result of scientific indications, consumers' wishes, and the potential of farm production, should ensure increased consumption of animal protein, vegetables, and fruit, and should increase the share of processed and refined products in the flow of food.

The improved flow of industrial goods will be accompanied by crucial changes in their structure, quality, and modern design. Our primary aim should be to saturate the shops with basic goods, especially clothing, furniture, and household equipment. At the same time, we should increase the assortment and availability of durables, especially electronic equipment such as modern television sets, video recorders, personal computers, and automated household appliances. Toward the end of the present 5-year period we should begin the production of better cars with radically improved technical exploitation specifications so that cars become a mass product in the future.

The development and improvement of the network of trade and services are an important factor in improving people's conditions and progress of civilization. This will make household work easier for families and women and will increase their leisure time. The development of the material base and of manpower involve services is a necessity of the present civilization, and we will take notice of it in planning our development.

There will be a breakthrough in the development of the telephone network of the country, especially the rural areas, in the nineties. People will be able to use modern means of communication, including cable and satellite television.

Ensuring an apartment for every family is the most important social task. To radically improve the housing situation it is necessary to produce at least 4 million apartments by the end of this century to greatly increase funds on modernization and repairs of existing apartments, and to rationalize the principle of allocation and exchange of apartments.

To solve the urgent housing problems, we must radically change our policy with regard to apartment construction and administration. The party will not accept conservative trends in housing policy that seek to preserve inefficient solutions. To be able to more effectively meet social needs, we must change legal, organizational, and fiscal housing measures and improve housing investments and administration of housing resources.

It is necessary to cut the schedules of housing construction and its cost and to improve its quality. Increases in the production of building materials must go hand in hand with modernized technologies so that the consumption of materials, energy, and fuels can be reduced in the construction and exploitation of houses.

There must be an increased social supervision of and a greater social participation in the implementation of housing investments. In particular, we must utilize various social initiatives of enterprises and groups of people, especially young people. Such initiatives must be sympathetically supported by state administration and specialized construction units. Side by side with the housing construction cooperatives, which play a dominant role, we should promote such forms of construction as sponsored construction, small housing cooperatives and teams, and construction by individual enterprises. It is necessary to devise various ways in which individual citizens are able to acquire apartments, depending on their situation and means. It is obvious that people will have to contribute their own funds to meet the costs of housing construction and maintenance. The proportion of privately owned apartments should gradually increase. The party is also for an accelerated development of private housing construction.

Developing a modern system of education equipped with whatever is necessary to ensure young people's intellectual, moral, and physical development is a great national task. The fact that in this 5-year period we have built 18,000 classrooms and have taken over various premises for education purposes will gradually enable us to reduce instruction in shifts in the next 5-year period. We should speed up the production of modern teaching aids and sports equipment and to begin computerization of schools, which we should complete in 6-8 years.

The key tasks in health protection are:

-- effective protection of the people against health risks created by civilization, social wrongdoing, and the pollution of the natural environment;
-- implementation of extensive programs for health care for mothers and children;
-- the complete observance of health measures in places of work;
-- greater care for old and handicapped people.

People's health will be improved through the development of the material and manpower infrastructure on the health service, radical progress in the quality and organization of health services and in preventive measures, the reduction in the dangers posed by working conditions, the development of pharmaceutical industries, and the availability of the necessary medicines. The number of hospital beds will go up to about 300,000, that is, by almost 50 percent compared with the present number. The number of places in social care homes will also increase.

Conditions will be created for people to be able to better use their leisure and enjoy various forms of recreation and extensive participation in physical training. This is a very important duty of enterprises. Individual and collective domestic and foreign tourism will be expanded.

Restoring the ecological balance and reconciling the country's socioeconomic and land development with the natural environment is a long-term goal of protecting this environment. We need at least 25 years of intensive efforts to do this in line with the national program for the protection of the natural environment and water economy up to the year 2010, which is being prepared by the government.

However, our most urgent task is to halt water pollution and to make radical progress in purifying Polish rivers and lakes. Another urgent task is to counter the excessive emission of sulfuric compounds. To achieve this, we will build purification plants, at first in the upper reaches of the rivers that flow into man-made reservoirs. We will intensify research work into reducing the pollution caused by combustion of various fuels and we will develop the production base of purification plans. Side by side with investment funds we need the militancy and responsible attitudes of people so that installations and equipment are used more efficiently, reaction to negligence is resolute, and vandalism and other forms of the destruction of nature are ruthlessly combated.

Effectiveness of Economic Management

The party will make comprehensive efforts to ensure that effectiveness of economic management and, especially, conservation of materials become everyone's national tasks. The struggle for higher effectiveness also calls for economic, educational, and administrative measures as well as stricter control and supervision over the implementation of programs and tasks in enterprises, branches of industry, regions of the country, and the entire economy. Party cells and organizations, government and state administrative bodies, enterprises, and all institutions and organizations must always be alert to measures to increase effectiveness.

The basic element of effectiveness is honest and reliable work which constitutes a measure of patriotic awareness and civic responsibility for the country's future in every job and in all spheres of socioeconomic life.

We must improve the utilization of manpower. At the beginning of the eighties, the weekly working time was considerably reduced without any compensation in the form of increased productivity. That is why it is all the more necessary to truly and fully work this reduced working week and to eliminate all sources of waste.

The party attaches great importance to devising an accurate system of gauging the value of one's work, of establishing correct work norms, and of verifying jobs as the basic of a correct wage system and of objective and fair evaluations of the performance of workers. Those who work productively must receive considerable social praise and full material and moral rewards. Very efficient and productive enterprises will be able to raise wages considerably over and above the mean level.

Wages paid in strict accordance with the results of one's work help to boost one's motivation to increase production and to improve economic management and technological progress. They also make it possible to overcome a kind of "concealed exploitation" of those who work effectively by those who shirk work and do shoddy work. Those who neglect their duties and violate work discipline must not count on tolerance and decent living standards. "Sharing the fruits of labor should help increase the effectiveness of production. This is why this sharing will be fair for all people." (Lenin)

In the long run, technological progress and better technological equipment determine increases in productivity. However, in the next few years, we should focus our efforts on tapping the existing production reserves, primarily by fully exploiting working time and by observing work discipline and organization. The policy of full employment must not relieve us of concern for a rational administration of manpower.

Conservation of materials and energy and considerable reduction in the energy- and material-intensiveness of production and the national income is an overriding imperative. Given only slight increase in materials and energy, only the most stringent thrift makes it possible to speed up production and social prosperity. The experience of history of many countries shows that consistent thrift makes it possible to build the foundations of economic prosperity. This is a matter for all the people and every citizen. Only a thrifty nation that produces articles from smaller and smaller quantities of producer materials, that correctly uses these articles, and recycles worn articles can be truly rich.

Investment policy should also be concerned with thrift. As for the increased production of raw materials, priority funds will be available to rationally exploit the existing resources of minerals and to reduce the material- and energy-intensiveness of production.

It is necessary to radically improve production assets, to constantly ensure their high serviceability, to maintain a high degree of their performance, and to tighten sanctions against faulty exploitation and premature wear and tear of machines, equipment, and rolling stock. Enormous results can be achieved in this way, and this requires no investments.

Poland must achieve radical progress in the quality of products. Modernization of production plant and scientific-technological progress will create conditions for this. Nevertheless, every worker's attitude to his work and his skills, sense of responsibility, and honesty are just as important. We must see to it that it is the ambition of work forces and all our people to make Polish products synonymous with good quality.

Structural changes will be an important mainspring of long-term activities to promote effectiveness. The main goals of these changes are:

-- To modify production so that social needs can be better met;
-- To increase the production of goods in the sector that determine technological progress throughout the economy;

-- to radically lower production costs, especially the consumption of materials and fuels;
-- to expand export capacities and to increase the competitiveness of Polish products in world markets;
-- to accelerate the development of the sectors that are now "bottlenecks" in the structure of industry;
-- to intensify the processing of domestic raw materials and fuels, especially of bituminous coal, which is our main natural resource.

We must begin implementing these tasks by propagating those products, technologies, and designs in our economy that possess favorable technological and economic features. At the same time, we should begin devising and extensively turning out the products, technologies, and designs that are consistent with the requirements of the highest effectiveness and up-to-dateness.

Increasing the share of processing industries in industrial production and in the production of the national income will be the dominant long-term direction of structural changes. The position of the electroengineering industry, especially of electronic and chemical industries, will be upgraded most of all. As for the extracting and raw materials industries, structural changes should primarily result in rationalizing the extraction and use of domestic natural riches and in promoting production technologies that conserve materials and energy.

The party takes the view that investments in material production should be focused on modernizing and overhauling tasks. The construction of new projects should be limited to the most necessary needs connected with structural changes. The size and purpose of investment outlays will be determined by the effectiveness and results of economic measures. The efficiency of investments must be radically improved by cutting down investment schedules, sorting out the investment program, strictly adhering to cost estimates, and employing the planned production capacities on schedule.

Poland's situation in Europe enables and obliges us to better exploit and modernize land, sea, and air transportation, to accelerate the electrification of railroads, to modernize and expand the repair and industrial base of railroads, ports, and airfields, to radically overhaul main and local highways, and to make significant progress in communication and telecommunications. Our position also obliges us to resolutely continue the maritime policy devised after the ninth party congress, to rationally develop the national zone of the Baltic, and to protect its natural environment.

Scientific-Technical Progress

The main fulcrum for accelerating Poland's socioeconomic development is scientific-technical progress. Only in this way may development restrictions be overcome, a high level of productivity achieved, and the modernization of production accelerated. Scientific-technological progress will be the basis for reducing the labor intensiveness, energy intensiveness and material intensiveness of the national income.

The results of scientific-technological progress beyond the purely technical and economic spheres have a direct influence on eliminating the differences between physical and mental work, are the main force determining the intellectual advancement of the workers class, and determine working conditions.

Scientific-technical progress is an important area for fulfilling the hopes of young people and is a way of shaping their attitudes. Energy, sensitivity, resourcefulness, and a talent for adopting what is new destine young people to play an energetic and creative role in modernizing our lives. During all levels of the education process, it is necessary to devote considerably more attention to the shaping of technical culture. It is necessary to encourage the development of and publicize the experiences of the computer clubs that are emerging spontaneously, competitions of young master technicians, and youth scientific olympiads.

Electronics occupies one of the key places in the scientific-technological development program until the year 2000. Filling the technological gap between our electronic industry and the highest world standard is a primary task of Polish technology in the coming years. The degree to which we manage to perform this task will determine the level of modernity of the remaining sector of industry and Poland's position on the world market. The production of more compact integrated circuits, optical electronic components, and specialized electronic for the needs of data processing, automation, and telecommunications must be accelerated.

The development of automatic equipment, data processing equipment, and measuring apparatus will be speeded up. The large-scale production on microcomputers for education and professional purposes should be set in motion within 2-3 years. Taking advantage of the achievements and traditions of the Polish mathematical school of thought, we must create and develop a computer industry, which should become our export specialty. It is essential to expand the network of computer terminals and data transmission facilities used in the work of the state and economic administration, and also design and introduce into production a series of computer peripheries to help the work of scientists, engineering, and designers.

The party regards it as essential to develop robotization on a broad scale. The introduction of robots to the factory must be speeded up many times over, especially concerning those jobs where the health of the employee is at stake. Flexible production organization based on computer-controlled production lines should be the basic target of modernizing production processes. The introduction of automatic control systems causing savings in energy and fuel in industry, transportation, and the communal services requires particular attention.

An important task is to develop and introduce more quickly the kind of new methods, technology, and equipment that will radically reduce the consumption of raw materials and fuels and save on heating electricity, coal, and oil. It is also necessary to develop nuclear energy, develop and introduce new materials, and make broader use of by-products.

Scientific-technical progress should lead to a better quality of products and should increase their degree of utility and foreign competitiveness.

It is essential to involve science and technology to a greater degree in the development of agriculture and food processing and storage. This requires both a better use of the results of the agricultural sciences and -- in the long term -- progress in the field of biological science.

It is essential to make increasingly broad use of foreign relations during scientific and technological development. The party regards the expansion and tightening of cooperation with the CEMA countries, especially the USSR, as a priority strategic path of action. The Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technological Development Until the Year 2000, and in particular the Polish-Soviet Long-Term Comprehensive Scientific-Technological Development Program, are and will continue to be regarded as of key importance.

We will also seek ways of expanding and intensifying scientific and technical cooperation with the highly-developed capitalist countries. Here we will not remain passive toward the technological blockade and embargoes vis-a-vis many technologies and products imposed on us by imperialism. Our program of scientific-technological development is aimed at making us independent of these discriminatory practices. It is from this angle that we will establish our policy of production licenses and rid it of the mistakes of the past.

Modernization and turning scientific-technical progress into the chief driving force of our economy both require an urgent increase in spending on research and development work. The system of financing this work will be improved, among other ways by providing research establishments with greater royalties stemming from the practical introduction of their achievements, and by making money available for the future dependent on the results achieved in the past. Together with this, the scientific community should become more responsible for the distribution of resources, the results of tests, and the effect of these tests on the fulfillment of socioeconomic goals. It is firmly necessary to employ greater numbers of highly qualified and suitably paid engineering cadres in industrial research and development centers and in the technological progress departments of enterprises. All bodies carrying out priority scientific-technological development programs must be guaranteed supplies of modern equipment.

By drawing conclusions from the experience and misfortune experienced so far, it is necessary to continue to improve the system of controlling scientific-technological progress. The most important task in this sphere is to shorten the time it takes for scientific development to reach economic practice and strengthen the ties between science on the one hand and the research-development base of industry and production plants on the other.

Government orders, support mechanisms for inventiveness, greater numbers of scientific production centers, and an improvement in the organization of industry's development base should all stimulate technical progress. An important task is also to perfect the system of scientific-technological and economic information.

Improved mechanism in the functioning of the economy should serve scientific-technological development needs and meet the demand of enterprises for scientific-technological achievements.

The party is an active spokesman in favor of increasing the professional energy of scientific-technological, and engineering cadres; promoting inventors; stimulating people's creative interest; liberating the initiatives of work forces; and stepping up the struggle against stagnation and passiveness. Inventors should be treated with greater care than they have been so far, and the system for introducing inventions into practice requires improvement. Greater material and moral incentives should be provided for inventiveness. An inventor must be made known to the public as an example to others, as an achiever of material and moral success.

The Development of International Economic Cooperation

A clear rise in Poland's participation in the international division of labor is one of the basic conditions for guaranteeing uninterrupted development for the national economy. Establishing a specialization of exports in accordance with the requirements on the economic balance-sheet, particularly in the processing industry, is a condition necessary to improve management and accelerate scientific-technological progress. A rise in production for export purposes should be higher than the rise in the national income and in overall industrial output.

Increasing our integration within CEMA and tightening economic and scientific-technological cooperation with the socialist countries is a basic and permanent part of our development strategy. We will aim to accelerate and expand our cooperation and specialization concerning production and set up joint enterprises and research teams, especially in those industrial branches that provide a pattern of modernity and are less energy and material-intensive.

The long-term programs of economic and scientific-development until the year 2000 will be the basis for shaping bilateral relations with individual socialist countries. Agreeing on economic policy and coordinating economic plans are and will remain important tools in the process of socialist integration.

Poland's greatest and most important partner is the Soviet Union. With the help of Soviet science and technology, the production of electronic apparatus, energy and material-efficient machines, flexible production systems, and robots will be developed. This will be particularly important for modernizing the economy. Deliveries of Soviet raw materials, fixed assets, and market commodities will continue to be of enormous importance.

On the basis of the principle of equality, partnership, and mutual advantages, we will expand our cooperation with the capitalist countries. Poland is interested in developing economic cooperation with all the developed and developing countries of the world. We are firmly in favor of eliminating from economic relations political pressure in the form of illegal restrictions, embargoes, and other discriminatory practices.

Our ambition is to constantly increase Poland's participation in socialist economic integration and in the entire international division of labor.

Developing the System of Economic Functioning

Developing the system of economic functioning is one of the chief conditions for realizing the important socioeconomic goals facing Poland. The rules for reforming this system were set out by the ninth party congress. They involve strengthening the strategic role of central planning, increasing the initiative and independence of enterprises, and making fuller use of economic instrument in steering the economy. The party is in favor of the consistent implementation of economic reform. It will firmly oppose bureaucratic and conservative obstacles to this reform, as well as parochial trends, a slackening of management discipline, and the undermining of general economic policy goals. Temporary deviations from the principles of the reform should be gradually removed as the economic situation improves.

The party regards the reform not as an aim in itself but as a great work of improving the functioning of the economy, one which serves to liberate creative forces for the sake of improving the standard of living and satisfying the social, economic, and technological demands posed by today's times. We see the reform as one of the basic ways of implementing the principle of social justice and consolidating people's rule and socialist self-government.

The reform must bring a constant improvement in management. A rise in productivity, less energy-intensive and material-intensive production, more modern economic structures, and satisfaction at having taken part in well-organized work are the objective yardsticks of the reform's effectiveness.

The chief task of central planning is to establish social activity in accordance with general social goals and in accordance with the socialist state's strategic aims. The party believes it is essential to constantly improve the planning system and perfect the methods, forms, and tools of economic influence on economic spheres in such a way that the activity thereof may conform to state socioeconomic policy.

This requires a greater involvement of society in the planning process, a universal application of the cost-effectiveness analysis, improved systems of analysis, and broader constructive cooperation between planning bodies and scientific circles.

The party will aim to strengthen the economic-financial independence of enterprises. Their independence should be free of bureaucratic restrictions, but also free of anarchosyndicalist distortions. It should be characterised by a feeling of responsibility on the part of the work forces for the results they have achieved and should encourage thrift and initiative by enterprises.

The reform is neither dogma nor a closed set of solutions. The party regards it as a living social process designed to achieve an increasingly better organization of the economy. In seeking methods and tools of economic functioning which well suit our needs, we will focus both on our own experience and on that of the other socialist countries.

We regard it as essential to adapt economic mechanisms and the organization of enterprises to the technological specifications of production and the nature of the socioeconomic tasks facing us. We will seek the kind of solutions which combine in the best way the interests of various economic units and general social goals. The structure and method of action by central bodies of the state administration will also be reformed and modernized.

The party is in favor of establishing an economic sense of compulsion for efficient activity, including technological and organizational progress. Sharper rules governing self-financing, austerity, adherence to moral discipline, and the use of working hours should be introduced.

A particularly important task is to increase one's motivation for more efficient work. Preference must be given to solutions where the level of a worker's pay is proportional to his participation in the entire enterprise's economic performance. Such a wage system, one of the chief conditions necessary to raise productivity, is at the same time a significant way of reducing the social costs of production. Hence it is an effective weapon in the struggle against inflation.

Consolidation of Public Ownership

Socialist ownership is the basis for achieving the social goals of management and for developing socialist relations and the proper mechanisms of economic functioning. This results from the dominant position occupied by the state and cooperative sector in the national economy and from the development ability of a central planning system, something which characterizes a socialist economy. Thanks to a rise in productivity, the creation of modern patterns of work organization, and the growing possibilities for improving working conditions and the standard of living of work forces, the socialist sector will consolidate its leading role in the national economy. Forms of organization, especially the size of socialized enterprises, should suit the requirements necessary for these enterprises to function efficiently. Expanded small-scale production industry and local industries should play an important role.

The party, aiming to consolidate socialist ownership believes it essential to develop ways of direct participation by working people in deciding on how to use production resources.

This involves:

-- improving ways of holding and using the results of social consultations on plans, programs, and other macroeconomic decisions;
-- improving the functioning of workers self-management bodies, which should become real and competent partners of enterprise managements;
-- introducing the kind of work organization and wages systems that develop one's feeling of responsibility for joint property and for production results.

The private sector outside agriculture will complement the production of some commodities, including market commodities. Most of all, it will provide additional services and small trade outlets. Production and services that are less profitable if performed by large enterprises but which serve to balance out the market and better suit the population's demands will be supported. While cooperating with the democratic party in creating social conditions for the existence of handicrafts and other private form of small-scale production, the party firmly opposes exploitation, speculation, unjustified profits, and other distortions.

The Party's Role in Socioeconomic Development

The party plays the following roles in the economy:

-- a political force establishing, in close alliance with the workers class and society, a program and policy of national socioeconomic development plus the paths of changes to the national economy's system of functioning;

-- an animator and organizer of working people's activity, propagator of the best experiences, and a supporter of competition, rationalization, and inventiveness;

-- an inspirer of harmonious and effective cooperation between managements, self-management bodies of workers, trade unions, youth associations, and scientific-technological groupings at all levels of the economy;

-- an initiator and coordinator of cadres policy;

-- a center of political work with leadership cadres from foreman right up to minister.

The duty of PZPR organizations and cells is to indicate the paths of development which suit general social interests but which do not restrict independence and initiative. It is not management that is necessary, but inspiration, organization, and education; not freeing people of responsibility and replacing them by others, but controlling, correcting, assessing, and acting. The party will use political methods in the economy, constantly improving them and increasing their effectiveness.

Establishing relationships inside plants and improving working conditions and the standard of living of the work forces presents a broad scope for party tasks. The party will see to it that work forces consider themselves to be managers of their enterprises in every respect.

A breakthrough in intensification, efficiency, and modernity must be accompanied by a change in the way of thinking. Work for the sake of increasing economic knowledge and culture and improving the ability to manage efficiently, and use economic mechanisms correctly will be developed and expanded, and will involve all working communities. The work place will be the nucleus of the economic education system.

The party believes that social management goals, the time and methods of performing them, and existing economic conditions should be presented to society truthfully, clearly, and comprehensively, in a way that reflects the real course of economic processes. Existing difficulties must not be hidden and achievements must not be exaggerated. Only a unity of theory and practice may bring the desired education results, which will be evident in workers attitudes and in the achievement of increasingly better economic results.

IV. Rural and Agricultural Development Policy

The party believes it is its historic duty to make sure that Polish agriculture is productive, technologically modern, and socially progressive. It will see to it that the development of agricultural production forces, relations within production, and the standard of living of farmers suit the development requirements of Polish society. The party will adopt vis-a-vis rural areas and agriculture a class stance stemming from the essence of the worker-peasant alliance. The PZPR works out and implements agricultural policy together with the United Peasant Party [ZSL].

The Supreme Goal -- An Increasingly Better Feeding of the Nation

The goal of agricultural policy is to satisfy society's growing food needs and raise the standard of living of rural inhabitants. Poland is able to feed its citizens adequately in accordance with scientific recommendations concerning food and health. The country possesses the conditions essential to achieve self-sufficiency in food, and may also reap greater advantages from the international division of labor in this sphere.

The party inspires and supports the creation of material and social conditions necessary for an effective and rational use of work resources, farming land, and the entire output potential of the food economy. Only a modern agriculture, capable of making fuller use of the achievements of modern technological and agricultural science, may guarantee the nation sufficient food. Seeking the best solutions in this sphere, we will expand our cooperation with the socialist countries to intensify agricultural output and develop food processing.

Agriculture is an important and inseparable part of the national economy. Permitting its modernization and development requires allocating a considerable part of the national production potential to this purpose. This applies particularly to industries that produce agricultural production resources for farming and the food economy, and also involves developing the technical and social infrastructure of rural areas and agriculture.

During the years covered by the program, main efforts will concentrate on:

-- improving agricultural land which needs improving;
-- supplying rural areas and agriculture with water;
-- delivering fertilizers, plant protection agents, and other chemical substances to suit soil quality and the requirements of efficient production;
-- mechanizing basic farming work;
-- modernizing the energy systems of agriculture;
-- expanding comprehensive production services to suit requirements and modernizing the agricultural supply base;
-- speeding up scientific work meant to assure biological scientific, and breeding progress.

Proper planning and improvement of investment processes, better use of production assets, better management, a higher degree of farming culture, higher professional qualifications of producers, and a closer coordination of science and farming practice are important conditions for modernizing agriculture.

Increased quantities of production resources will be delivered first of all to agricultural units where they will achieve the best results. Credits policy will also serve to intensify production. The profitability of efficient agricultural production will be guaranteed, and incomes in agriculture will be brought into line with those in other sectors of the national economy.

The land is an unincreasable asset. Regardless of how it is owned, it belongs to the entire nation and in the nation's interests it must be husbanded increasingly better by private farmers, cooperatives, and state farm employees alike. In connection with the inevitable process whereby land is taken away from private farms and added to the State Land Fund, and taking into account the need to exchange and combine plots of land, the party favors giving land to farmers who can guarantee its best use. The party therefore regards long-term leases of land to private farmers as rational.

The party favors firmly protecting farming land against deterioration and against an unauthorized use of such land for other purposes.

Forestry plays an important role in the national economy. Forests constitute the nation's riches. They are a source of raw materials and encourage ecological balance and environmental improvement. It is the nation's duty to protect the forests against damage.

The role of the agricultural and food industry is growing. It is essential to guarantee it the best economic and technological development conditions. The following will be expanded and modernized so deliveries of processed commodities may be increased: storage facilities, refrigeration, processing facilities, and transportation. This requires curbing waste and making a rational use of raw materials. The environmental, technological, and organizational undertakings of the food industry will be coordinated with agriculture. This will counter food losses and encourage cooperation in production and specialized production.

The Social Development Path of Rural Areas and Agriculture

Confirming the permanence of agricultural policy, the party favors evolutionary changes designed to raise the rural population's agricultural output and social and cultural standards. The tendency to concentrate production and land possesses an objective nature in the peasant economy. It provides a basis for raising productivity and socializing the production processes, and expands and consolidates agriculture's multilateral bonds with the national economy. In the divided-up Polish agriculture, efficient family farms will be expanded and the development of various forms of socialized farming supported and developed. The party regards a further tightening of the bonds between peasant farming and the socialist economy and socialized market as an important task. Encouraging the output of small and part-time farms will be the development of socialized production services, cooperation with the socialized economy, and the agricultural advisory service.

A stable agricultural policy in conformity with the joint decisions of the PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Supreme Committee does not mean that socialist transformations in agriculture and in rural areas must be coordinated. Such transformations may be carried out for the present on the basis of a completely voluntary system of husbandry.

The changes supported by the PZPR will serve to implement the ideas of social justice and the humanitarian and social development of rural areas, permit the rational organization and high productivity of work, enable time to be set aside for recreation and cultural participation, free rural women from excessive burdens and duties, and make work down on the farm a modern profession.

The party will see to it that socialized farms -- both state and cooperative ones -- have a greater role and importance in satisfying the population's food needs. They should, to an increasing degree, become examples of modern group work and radiate biological and technical progress to the whole of agriculture. They should be centers of high agricultural culture and create attractive conditions for life and work. This is encouraged by the economic instruments which stimulate an improvement in work organization and management.

The party supports efforts of rural communities to further democratize their lives by means of energetic agricultural self-government bodies, cooperative and territorial self-government bodies, and by developing agricultural circles and cooperative economic organizations serving the needs of rural areas.

The Social Progress of Rural Areas

The party favors bringing the standards of living of urban and rural inhabitants in line with each other. Further improvement of rural living and working conditions and a reduction in the burden of agricultural labor depend on a modernization and further mechanization, of production and on an expansion of production and supply services. Social advancement also requires a further development and modernization of the sociocultural and technical infrastructure of rural areas. The development, modernization, and more efficient activity of educational, cultural, service, sports, and recreational facilities in rural areas will be encouraged and supported. The water supply and drainage network will be expanded more quickly, health centers and hard-surface roads will be built, telephone lines laid, and gas pipelines installed.

Changes in rural areas demand an influx of highly-qualified and dedicated cadres, who should be assured of suitable social conditions, including housing.

The party will shape rural areas of the future jointly with the ZSL and together with rural inhabitants, social and socioprofessional organizations, cooperatives, and youth unions. It favors creating proper conditions for the development of energy by rural youth. It supports young rural people's aims toward progress and innovation, which would permit the realization of their professional and social ambitions in life.

V. The Development of the Socialist Political System

One of the PZPR's fundamental programmatic goals is to consolidate the socialist Polish state and enrich its democratic features. Our state, the heritage of the independent-minded and progressive aspirations of many generations of Poles, is the broadest platform of uniting the people around joint goals. It guarantees for the people a secure existence and social and cultural advancement.

Only a strong state may guarantee to basic social classes an effective participation in the construction of socialism. Only such a state may turn their interests into reality and meet the challenge of new requirements. Only a conscious participation by citizens, their democratic energy, and their citizen-like discipline can guarantee the state its essential prestige, strength, and efficiency.

From Proletarian Dictatorship to a State of the Entire People

Our state continues to perform functions applicable to the period of proletarian dictatorship. Guided by the interests of the workers class and in conformity with the goals of the firm majority of the people, the state organizes the socialist economy, increases the possibility of working people's participation in exercising authority, and develops education, science, and culture. It strengthens the pillars of Poland's international position, its unshakeable alliances and historically confirmed principles of foreign policy. It protects the achievements of working people against attacks by opponents of the system.

As socialist economic relations develop, accompanied by suitable changes to the class structure of society and to society's consciousness and by broader participation by citizens in the exercise of authority, the state will assume to an increasing degree the characteristics of a state of the entire people. This process will bring gradual changes to its functions. The meaning of the state's coordinating role in ever-increasing self-government by society, stimulating democratic energy and supporting the initiatives contained therein, and coordinating the interests of professional groups and local communities will expand. The contents of economic and social policy will be harmonized more fully, thanks to, among other things, a rise in the national income available for distribution. The extent of social self-government will expand. Growth in the powers of self-government bodies and working people's associations will permit them, in some cases, to take over functions previously performed exclusively by the administrative apparatus, and will increase their influence on state policy. As antisocialist influence is narrowed down and eliminated, the state's protective functions based on a class coercion will be gradually proportionally reduced.

At both stages of the socialist state's development, defense policy and consolidating the factors of the country's internal security retain their importance.

The Implementation of the PZPR's Leading Role in the Socialist Political System

Playing the leading role in the state and society, the party sees to it that state bodies function in accordance with the class nature of political authority. It raises the status of representative institutions and forms of direct democracy. It sees to it that the administration acts efficiently in the service of society. It ensures that the principles of socialist law and order and cadres policy are observed. It sees to the fullest possible realization of citizens rights and liberties, and makes sure at the same time that social discipline is strengthened. By resolving differences, the party prevents them from turning into conflicts. It guards the principles of Poland's peaceful foreign policy and its class character.

The party plays its leading role in the political system in conformity with the principles of people's rule and within the framework of the law. It does not intend to take the place of state bodies. Fully respecting the status and powers of these bodies, the party is active in those spheres which determine the realization of the basic interests of working people, which it does through the medium of its organizations and members. The PZPR's energy possesses great importance in institutions of socialist democracy, especially in the Sejm and people's councils. A similar importance is played by the party's steady inspiration and control over the discharge of duties by party members performing state functions on the party's recommendation.

While playing a leading role in the state, the PZPR will continue the practice of exercising authority by the coalition method. Confirmed during the history of People's Poland as well as during the most difficult trials, the PZPR's alliance with the ZSL and the SD, with the participation of Catholic and Christian associations and with the support of broad sections of nonparty people, is not seasonal in character. It stems from an affirmation of fundamental political principles and from a feeling of joint, patriotic responsibility. It creates a mechanism which suits socialist political relations and which expresses at the same time our society's economic differences as well as world outlook, and cultural differences.

Consolidating socialist democracy requires a firm opposition to attempts to impose on Poland a politically alien, so-called "free contest of forces," which would be the source of artificial divisions and would permit the activation of antisocialist forces enjoying foreign support.

Inspiring and organizing the development of people's rule, the party is bringing to life the objective trend and dialectical correctness of our system. This is confirmed by the results of the socialist renewal policy, which was begun in 1980 and expounded at the 9th congress. The party will steadily continue and enrich this policy.

The Development of People's Rule

The development of socialist democracy should take place most of all thanks to a broader use of already existing powers and institutions and by imparting greater social energy to present forms of people's rule.

The PZPR attaches particular importance to the activity of the Sejm and people's councils and to consolidating their supervisory position among state bodies. It is and will remain the party's concern that representative bodies of authority combine more and more effectively various forms of democracy -- self-government, social organizations, consultations, systems of social control, and so on. The Sejm and people's councils should influence to an increasing degree the paths of action of state administration and control its work competently and effectively.

Further democratization of the election law will be of great importance. The experience of the 1984 and 1985 elections confirms the correctness of the chosen path, which is at the same time the starting point for changes which will encourage further growth in citizens' influence on the election, composition, and work of representative bodies and on increasing the responsibility of deputies and councillors toward their voters.

The party will permit a rise in the role of direct democracy, permitting every citizen to take a real part in resolving public issues. The party favors regular consultations on decisions at all levels of the political system. This idea should receive a legal basis, which would sanction both the idea of consultations themselves as well as other ways for the citizens to express his view -- referenda (both national and local), public opinion polls, press discussions, and so on.

An increase in citizens' influence on the functioning of state bodies will also occur by consolidating the joint front of social and professional controls. The primary task of these is to carefully check the work results of bodies and institutions and see to it that working people's interests have been considered and that conduct has been lawful. While coordinating more efficiently the system of controls, the party will seek an increase in this system's effectiveness and full use of the broad control powers held by representative bodies, social self-government bodies, trade unions, and other working people's organizations, especially the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate. The party will see to it that the state bodies specialized in this sphere perform their functions with increasing effectiveness, and most of all that the conclusions stemming from the controls are consistently implemented.

An increase in the role and powers of various forms of social self-managements will be a constant trend. The party will encourage the development of energetic and constructive activity by workers, territorial, cooperative, professional, academic, and school self-management bodies.

The PZPR attaches particular importance to the role of the class trade unions in a socialist political system and to their steady performance of social-protective, production, and ideoeducational functions. It will permit trade unions to exert effective influence on state socioeconomic policy, express and protect the social interests of working people, and take an active part in processes and undertakings designed to increase the national income and improve the working, living, and recreation conditions of basic classes and social strata.

The socialist youth unions are an exceedingly important component of the political system. Expressing the interests and aspirations of generations, they should serve to rally young Poles around the fatherland's most important needs; initiate and organize social activity; be schools of independent activity in educational establishments and work places; and help propagate the socialist system of values. The party speaks for consolidating and developing the youth movement and its sociopolitical position, and supports the participation of youth organizations in the establishment and implementation of policy, especially policy vis-a-vis the younger generation. Caring for the social and professional advancement of young cadres, the party will see to their ideological and citizens education. Inculcating a respect for work and a feeling of responsibility for People's Poland, our common home, the party will also protect the drive, nonconformity, imagination and boldness alive in the attitudes of young people. While supporting initiatives that are searching, unconventional, and original, the party will nevertheless shape a respect for the work of older generations. During the creative and innovative activity of the youth unions, the right to make attempts and mistakes should be combined with a duty to correct and remove them.

The party supports the development of socialist social, professional, female, regional, and other associations. They are a traditionally broad field of citizens energy and action. They unite communities and gather citizens around joint associations and every creative initiative put forward by them. The party will see to it that their energy is directed toward the most important interests and problems of working people.

Consolidating Citizens Rights and Enhancing Social Discipline

The development of socialist democracy must be accompanied by an increasing implementation of the political, economic, social and cultural rights of working people and by perpetuating the guarantee of citizens freedom. At the same time, state discipline must strenghten and public discipline must be more firmly embedded in people's consciousness.

Combining both these processes strengthens the foundations of the socialist state and establishes citizens' feeling of honor and security. The party will see to it that the implementation of the rights of individuals serves to satisfy society's needs; provide life with new, humanitarian contents; join individuals to society; and guarantee to these individuals at the same time a broad sphere of liberties and an inviolable area of privacy.

The unification and strict interdependence of rights, duties, liberties, and discipline is one of the sources of further progress concerning people's rule. We will confirm this principle by means of concrete policy.

The party will oppose the abuse of rights and liberties for purposes that clash with the constitution, as well as attempts to anarchize social life, weaken class ties, and create artificial political division among working people.

The Process of National Accord

The aim to expand and enhance national accord is a permanent feature of party policy. It serves to consolidate social energy and combine all the different forms of patriotic forces. We regard it as natural that working people, the citizens of a socialist state, should possess differing views concerning more than one important problem involving public life. Possessing and expressing differing views, criticizing shortcomings and distortions, and voicing various proposals -- all this usually has a positive influence on social life and encourages the making of mature decisions. This difference in views should at the same time increase the people's unity in fulfilling their most important needs, involving a joint concern for the state's security, efficiency, democratism, and rule of law; for the struggle for peace and Poland's just position in Europe and the world; for social justice and the resolving of discrepancies without conflict; for society's moral health, for a consolidation of work ethics; and for combating pathology.

Accord is proceeding in many spheres of life at the same time. It is maturing during dialogue and discussion on the subject of the interests and aims of various social groups.

The idea of accord will continue to be implemented via the representative system and via the movement of self-management bodies, trade unions and associations, as well as via this movement's broadest platform -- PRON. The party favors this movement better and better fulfilling its role as a broad forum of social opinion and dialogue and as the initiator, promoter, and organizer of constructive citizens energy.

The PZPR affirms the historic significance of the universal participation of religious believers in the building of the socialist fatherland. It is in favor of a greater energy by them in public life and in representative and executive bodies, where they may assume functions that match their knowledge, desire, and ability to act for the good of society and the socialist state.

The experience of socialist construction in Poland illustrates the importance of religious policy, especially relations between the state and the Catholic Church. The party will implement a religious policy based on lasting principles and established in Polish reality. This policy stems from a unity of the basic interests and objectives of working people and from the intention that that which unites should surmount any difference in attitudes concerning religion.

The foundation of the religious policy of People's Poland is freedom of conscience and belief: an equality of citizens regardless of their world outlook; a separation of citizens regardless of their world outlook; a separation between religions and the state; and the possibility for these religions to fulfil their religious role and functions without impediment. The secular nature of state institutions, including schools and other educational establishments, is an inviolable principle of political life.

Taking into account the inevitability of disputes concerning world outlook and philosophical polemics, the party favors positive and lasting relations between the socialist state on the one hand and the Catholic Church and other religions on the other, relations based on the principle of the rule of law. We favor constructive dialogue and joint activity which enriches and propagates national moral, social, and material values. We favor the participation of the Catholic Church and other religions in activity which serves the good of our joint fatherland. We appreciate those clergymen whose citizen-like attitude and energy serves to resolve the country's problems and those of local communities.

At the same time, the party will firmly oppose the use of religious feelings for the sake of activity against the system. The welfare of the nation requires a halt to the extensive militant clericalism which seeks to place the Catholic Church above the state and the law and which shows intolerance and fanaticism.

Improving the Work of the State Administration

The harmonious development of people's rule requires increasingly efficient functioning of the administration. In a socialist state the administration performs important social functions; it serves the people. It should stand out with ideological-social values and professional abilities. Consolidating the supremacy of representative bodies over executive ones, the party will cause a steady improvement in the administration's work. It is essential to systematically reduce administrative excesses, clarify the rules governing the administrations, work, decentralize powers, and improve cadres policy concerning employees in the state apparatus. An important task is to establish a comprehensive and multi-step system of professional training and retraining for these cadres, backed up with steady ideological-educational work.

The administration must constantly adapt to new needs and condition and achieve a high degree of efficiency in performing its functions. This is facilitated by the gathering of public opinion prior to decisionmaking, the use of scientific achievements and analyses, the application of efficient information gathering and transmission systems, and the simplification of office procedures so contacts between citizens and the administration may be direct and free of unnecessary complications and waste of time.

The party is combating bureaucratic distortions, haste and indifference toward the vital interests of the state and its citizens, cases of administrative bodies placing themselves above representative ones, and ignoring criticism. On the other hand, the party believes it is essential to increase the prestige of the state and economic administration, support it in the performance of its duties, and ensure its efficient practical functioning.

Consolidating the State's Defense

The party will act for the sake of consolidating the defense of the socialist state and bestow its care upon the Armed Forces of the PPR a lasting component of the fraternal Warsaw Pact alliance.

Under the ideological-political leadership of the PZPR, the Polish People's Army will unswervingly serve the interests of the people, strengthen bonds with working people, participate in sociopolitical and economic life, and make an important contribution toward strengthening the socialist state and defending peace. An important path of party activity is to improve the political-defensive education of society, especially the younger generation; inculcate a feeling of patriotic and citizen-like duty; and propagate a knowledge of the international and domestic factors governing state security.

Raising the Level of Political and Legal Culture

The party aim is to shape the kind of political and legal culture among citizens, especially among those performing professional and social functions in bodies of authority, that would encourage a development of the socialist features of life, pave the way for social activity, encourage law and order and discipline, combine local interests with national ones, and create a climate of tolerance and openness in the presentation of views stemming from a concern for the country's welfare and from a citizen-like dedication. The development of socialist political education requires a strengthening of the principles of qualification, collegiality, receptivity, criticism, and self-criticism.

The correctness and effectiveness of the decisionmaking process is an important part of political culture in all state bodies. This requires combining professional qualifications with the need to make decisionmaking processes public.

The party is an avid spokesman in favor of consolidating the rule of law. Socialist law expresses the system's basic values, serves national and class goals, and strengthens the state. It defines and creates guarantees that the rights and liberties of citizens will be implemented. It states the duties of individuals vis-a-vis society. It provides public life with law and order. Improving the mechanisms of exercising authority means the law must be adapted to new needs and that care for the law's cohesion must be displayed. Being in favor of a further improvement to the legal system, the party will oppose trends to make too frequent changes which undermine the stability of rules and hamper their effect on social relations.

Legal regulations should be applied in those spheres where they are a real tool of action and a guideline for positive social conduct. The law should exert a greater influence on the sphere of economic relations and better serve the implementation of the state's socioeconomic policy objectives. To effectively combat violations of the law, it is necessary to apply various resources -- educational, preventive, and punitive ones.

The party assumes that during the implementation of this program, the kind of change will occur in sociopolitical life that may require the rules of the constitution to be adapted to the achieved level of state and society's development.

An exemplary observance of the law and a propagation of knowledge of it and respect for it is the fundamental duty of all PZPR cells, organizations, and members. The party will shape a climate of social support and respect for those bodies which guard the legal order and which are committed to protecting the political system. The party will concern itself with creating the right conditions for effective work by those bodies which check to see if the law tallies with the constitution and which check the implementation of laws and other legal instruments as well as the legality of administrative decisions.

VI. The Shaping of Socialist Attitudes and Social Consciousness; the Development of Education, Science, and Culture

Building a system of social justice is the result of planned human activity. It requires coordinated changes in economics, politics, and consciousness. Socialism is proceeding from the world of ideas to the world of practice, where its values permeate social relations and establish themselves in thought, attitude, and behavior. The state of consciousness may be a stimulant for socialist progress, but also an impediment to it. This determines the importance of ideological and educational work among party tasks.

The Chief Tasks and Paths of Ideological-Educational Work

Socialism is the work of man who finds meaning in life when there is a bond with other people; a patriot who understands the connection between the development of his people and the fortunes of his fatherland on the one hand and the progress of all mankind on the other; a spkesman for social justice and humanitarianism, a conscious participant in the life of the state and in social activity; a person guided by a morality which places himself and his fellow man on an important footing; a person who is righteous, honest, and sensitive to the affairs of others; one who approaches the world in accordance with rationality and scientific conditions; and who develops in spiritual and physical harmony. That is how we interpret the educational ideal of socialism and its permanent values.

Ideological-political work must develop in accordance with society's dynamic needs and take society's growing knowledge and aspirations into account. We will eliminate obtrusive didacticism and empty phraseology that is far removed from the experiences of working people. Only an ideological-educational activity which conforms to practical truth may act, convince, break the barriers of lack of confidence, and unite young generations.

The successful continuation of socialist transformation requires effective long-term party activity to ensure that Marxism-Leninism retains its leading role in the broadly-conceived culture of Polish society. This does not mean a failure to appreciate the various motivations set by modern-day humanitarianism and patriotism. The party believes that tolerance and dialogue do not erase the basic differences between idealistic and materialistic philosophy, between a religious and scientific world outlook, and between the theory of scientific socialism and other social development concepts.

Shaping socialist consciousness involves constant action and a ceaseless battle whose front penetrates all milieus, especially the younger generation. One particular form of this battle is the anticommunist "psychological war" waged by imperialism. Poland has felt this war to a particularly high degree. The duty of party members is to marshal working people around socialist interests and counter hostile slogans and arguments.

We are conducting the ideological struggle against imperialism in the conviction that the best-conceived interests of international society demand a return to constructive coexistence, which means treating polemics and rivalry in a way that conforms to the basic principles of coexistence between states with different political systems. This includes in particular the non-use of propaganda aggression.

The conditions for shaping social consciousness during the current stage of socialist construction in Poland are determined by:

-- the level of knowledge and state of consciousness achieved during socialist transformations;
-- the requirements posed by the development of the forces of production and of social forces during the new stage of the scientific-technological revolution;
-- the effects of the economic and political crisis and of the influence of the adversary on social consciousness.

The objectives of ideological-educational activity that are currently the most important ones make it necessary to accelerate socialist development. The party attaches particular importance to the propagation of knowledge about economic laws and about the state, prospects, and conditions for the national economy's development; to the shaping of various material and ethical incentives for solid work; and to the formation of honorable citizen-like attitudes. The party propagates an honest picture of Poland's history as well as the conviction that a socialist state is a special value in the life of people today, and that a conscious position on the rights and duties of citizens forms the cornerstone of modern patriotism. The party encourages an understanding of the supremacy of joint working people's goals over any differences in world outlook, pointing out at the same time the practical and moral values of a scientific world outlook. It attaches great importance to the shaping of internationalist attitudes, comprehensive cooperation in the joint development of the socialist countries, and a sensitivity toward the strict connection between Poland's future and the struggle for world peace and social progress.

The party aims to erase reactionary traditions, anachronistic political concepts, mythomania, and obscurantism from social consciousness. It is struggling in particular against petty bourgeois egoism and the cult of possession, a neglect of economic laws, a reemergence of noble high-handedness, harmful ideas about an antagonistic division into society on the one hand and the state on the other; and signs of nationalism and habitual political clericalism which create a climate of intolerance and which set us culturally behind modern societies.

The party will organize the social forces into firmly combatting wrongdoing -- distortions and pathology. One must not come to terms with those things that poison the nation's moral health, blotch its good name, and undermine our honor -- crime, drunkenness, drug addiction, all forms of parasitism and speculation, corruption, favoratism, vandalism, vulgarity, and a neglect of basic order, hygiene, and cleanliness.

Ideology becomes a material force when it is confirmed not only on a nationwide and class scale, but also in the fortunes of individuals, in a socialist way of life, and in the nation's moral health. An important component of ideology is the success of the family and the development of patterns of family life in which the conveying of patriotic and humanitarian values to new generations occupies a permanent and honorable place. Spreading a joint responsibility for the home and for the education of children should enable women to fulfill more broadly their hopes in professional and public life.

The party is the organizer of the socialist education front and determines the paths of its activity, granting special importance to: education cadres, schools and higher educational establishments, the youth movement, the work place and the organizations active within it, all forms of social self-management, artistic creativity, sports activity, mass media, and military service -- a tested instrument for forming patriotic attitudes and at the same time an important part of the citizen-like general education of the young generation.

Education, science, and culture play a particularly important role in socialist construction. It is in these spheres that the values of our system and its superiority over capitalism may and should be revealed.

The Development of the System of General and Higher Education

In reference to the best traditions of national education and the great achievement of People's Poland in this sphere, the party will steadily permit a successful performance of the educational role of the Polish socialist school. The rapid scientific-technological revolution coupled with the prospects of further social changes are confronting our country with another difficult educational challenge.

One of the tasks in coming years will be to spread a secondary education based on the modern resources of the pure sciences and on humanist-social knowledge, with the simultaneous encouragement of a desire and ability to assimilate knowledge and take part in culture. In our target model of education we should guarantee the following:

-- the spread of preschool education and a lowering of the school starting age to 6 years;
-- a good level of technical education and work experience to suit the scientific-technological revolution, plus teaching how to act in a group and be efficient, thrifty, rational, and resourceful;
-- the involvement of a measure of vocational training in general education;
-- progress in equalizing young people's chances when starting school;
-- a tangible rise in the material situation and prestige of teachers and the creation of a stable teacher training system;

-- uniformity of the educational function of schools and steady ideological influence in accordance with the socialist model of personality, which is firmly rooted and yet open to new requirements and challenges;
-- an individualized approach to teaching and the creation of conditions for especially gifted individuals;
-- adapting the contents of teaching curricula and classroom hours to the possibilities and needs for children and young people to take an active part in culture, sports, and tourism, as well as in student self-management bodies and youth organizations. The material basis for the above plans must be created.

In 1990, education spending should exceed 5 percent of the national income, and by the end of the century reach 6 to 7 percent, depending on the general economic progress. The National School Aid Pledge should play a valuable supporting role here.

By developing the network of schools and kindergartens and adapting this network in good time to care for the predicted numbers of children and young people and to planned urban developments, and by means of a proper selection of cadres, construction of hostels and apartments for teachers, and suitable transportation links, education conditions in rural areas, small towns, and new districts in large conurbations will improve. Schools will definitely be more modernly equipped, especially vocational training schools, where the technical standard must match modern technologies.

The Polish school is and will remain secular and energetic in making modern achievements of human thought available to young people and in creating a scientific basis of world outlook.

A particular important matter is to increase the social effectiveness of higher education. This requires: closer correlation of curricula with the country's needs, especially the preparation of cadres for future areas of activity that determine progress; achieving a uniform standard of teaching and a suitable cadres policy in higher schools; development of the material base of higher schools; propagation of the kind of atmosphere in higher schools which combines independence with state policy goals; opening up a wider road to higher education for worker and peasant youth; and restoring the proper status of further studies for working people.

In the education process of intelligentsia cadres, it is necessary to set high standards and declare a struggle against mediocrity and low ambition. We will create, in line with the rise in the standard of living, the right conditions for knowledge to be increasingly in demand and a need in itself. Access to higher education, including the open university, should be made available wherever permitted by economic factors and the availability of cadres and facilities.

The Role of Science

In today's world, science has become a direct productive force. It is an important bearer of cultural and social progress and a medium for establishing modern social ties.

The party will aim to firmly increase the participation of science in the development of the economy and state; expand the platform of cooperation between science, the economy, life of the state, and general education; and ensure a flow of cadres between these spheres.

Science will play a key role in adapting the Polish economy to the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution and entire national education system, improving the standard of living of working people, achieving progress in organization and management, and protecting health and the environment. This requires a harmonious development of all the basic functions of science -- the research, utility, educational, and advisory functions. This also involves a constant rapprochement between research work and practical requirements, a better use of scientific cadre potential, and basing promotion on concrete achievements.

Science's participation in the shaping of social life demands significantly greater outlay, which should reach at least 3 percent of the national income by 1990. Later, outlay should continue to be increased to permit more rapid development of science and the selection of fields of research which will accelerate social, economic, and cultural progress. The party will formulate and implement policy in this sphere together with the scientific milieus.

The building of socialism requires constant intellectual effort in perceiving social reality and in forecasting and programming its development. This is an area of duties and tasks for the social sciences. The effective performance of this role depends on greater theoretical the methodological inspiration by Marxism-Leninism and on combining research with key problems of socialist construction and with practical needs.

The party holds the view that the Marxist social sciences perform their tasks when an affirmation of the principles and achievements of socialism is accompanied by a penetrating and comprehensive analysis of reality, an urge to learn, a boldness in performing research, and honest criticism of shortcomings and errors.

The development of the social sciences is encouraged by a constructive exchange of views and by competition between scholars and schools. While respecting differences in views and guaranteeing broad creative freedom, the party will support the development of those fields which encourage the country's socialist development and the integration of basic classes and strata around the values of our system. Dialogue and rivalry between scholars make a valuable contribution to scientific progress provided that they conform to its patriotic and humanitarian function and to the professional ethics of the scholar.

The Development of Culture

In assessing cultural phenomena the party is guided by the unity of the following criteria: humanist values, artistic standards, influence on the attitudes and way of life of working people, effectiveness in promoting the socialist development of the nation, and the integration of the basic social classes. A special humanist mission for culture and the arts ought to be the improvement of relations between people and the ideological, moral, and aesthetic enrichment of these relations in accordance with the long-term needs and goals of socialism.

A basic principle underlying policy in this area is the realization of the universal right to culture. The party is striving to ensure that all social groups have equal access to culture and to developing the cultural aspirations and activities of working people. The party regards the realization of a broad program of aesthetic education for the younger generation -- children and young people attending school -- as one of the fundamental tasks in the field of culture. The course of a program of this kind is one of raising society's artistic needs and aspirations; of creating greater opportunities to come into contact with the richness of national and world culture; of developing forms of active participation in culture, which provide better opportunities for personal self-realization and raising the quality of life. Growth in society's cultural needs and aspirations ought to be accompanied by the dynamic development of artistic form and content itself.

This will be served by the following:

-- development of Poland's rich cultural traditions. The party will create conditions for the continuation of these traditions by giving rise to and disseminating works of art which reflect the significance of the socialist period in national history;
-- support for creative work close to the problems of working people; that draws inspiration from the class experience and wisdom of working people; and boldly and critically addresses itself to historical and contemporary issues and problems from the standpoint of socialist ideals;
-- receptivity to all authentic humanist values inspired by various philosophical outlooks present in Polish culture and the culture of other countries, as well as the assimilation of the artistic and cultural achievements of fraternal socialist nations;
-- the guarantee of freedom in artistic creativity and artistic exploration -- the party does not interfere in the artistic process and does not select artistic styles. The party rejects the treatment of art as a tool and advocates the broadest possible scope of artistic freedom within the framework of socialist humanism and patriotism;
-- counteraction against the presence of antisocialism in culture and the exploitation of culture for the purpose of working against the interests of the state and the nation; counteraction against everything that violates humanist values and national dignity;
-- obtaining the support of eminent representatives of artistic circles for the realization of the goals of cultural policy and making use of their knowledge and experience;
-- supporting talent, especially young talent, in the arts, in the amateur arts movement, in folk art, and the cultivation of regional cultural traditions;
-- the participation of people's councils, cultural institutions, self-management councils, and artistic associations in the formulation and realization of cultural policy;
-- the rational combination of the principle of the efficient use of resources for the development and dissemination of culture with the protection of culture's ideological, educational, and humanist function from the negative effects of market mechanisms;
-- the expansion and modernization of the material base of culture, and concern for the training of new artistic cadres, critics, and organizers of cultural life.

The success of party policy should be judged by the access to culture enjoyed by workers and peasants, and by the elimination of the unjustified class and regional differences and disparities which arise in this field. This goal should be served by improving material conditions for artistic creativity and the dissemination of culture chiefly through the development of printing, the music and film industries, and by the expansion of a universally accessible base for cultural and educational work. Efforts must be made to double the number of books published by the end of the century, and to ensure that large editions are published of books that are both valuable and inexpensive. Wide use ought to be made of modern technology in the development and expansion of our culture.

The development of a modern base for the production and transmission of culture should be accompanied by concern for the preservation of the material treasures in our national heritage which include the buildings and monuments of architectural merit in Krakow, Torun, and other towns and cities. The preservation of buildings and monuments and their continual conservation should be combined with new ways of administering our architectural heritage and incorporating it into contemporary life.

The realization of the tasks set out above should result in a fundamental increase in the range and level of active participation in culture, an increase in people's personal development, and in more time being spent in a manner which accords with the socialist way of life.

Mass Media Tasks

The party considers openness in public life and the free exchange of ideas important principles of socialist democracy. The party attaches great importance to conveying reliable and comprehensive information to society about issues and trends in Poland and the world. The party creates conditions for the participation of the mass media in the realization of people's democracy. The mass media gives expression to the views of working people, encourages open debate on national issues, exercises a control function, shapes public opinion, and serves to extend dialogue between the organs of power and society. In exercising these functions the mass media ought to propagate socialist norms and values; provide examples of good working practices and civic activity; condemn wrongdoing; enhance feelings of national dignity; and acquaint people with life in countries where real socialism prevails and with the achievements of the peoples of these countries.

Press, radio, and television have an important role to play in educating for democracy and socialist self-government; in propagating thought from the point of view of the state; and in educating people about history, economics, and the law. Taking an accurate picture of reality as its starting point, the mass media ought to propagate party policy, unite society around the goals of party policy with the help of reasoned and committed debate, and should enhance forms of direct contact with working people through the restoration of the institution of worker-correspondents inter alia. The media should adopt various forms of exercising influence while rejecting both a position of neutrality in the struggle that is in progress and simplification and crude didacticism. The media should care about the purity and beauty of our native language.

The party supports the free expression of views and opinions that do not run counter to the fundamental interests of the nation and the socialist state, and supports open and ambitious journalism.

The mass media must proceed more quickly with technological development. It must not fall behind while others are moving ahead, while new means of communication are becoming widespread: video technology, cable television, satellite television. Full participation in the exchange of information between societies depends to a large extent on forms of communication being up-to-date as does the ability to effectively counter the confrontational aspirations of imperialism and the ideological subversion it practices.

The Role of the Intelligentsia in the Development of Poland

The Polish intelligentsia faces ambitious and difficult tasks. Contemporary developments create an increased need for knowledge, talents, innovation, bold ideas, new inventions, and higher standards of efficiency. The rapid tempo of change creates new social and moral problems.

Thus, the role of the intelligentsia in the development of Poland will grow. The role of the intelligentsia will to a large degree determine the extent to which we will be able to meet the challenges to civilization and culture: it will determine whether the younger generation's knowledge and awareness will be equal to the needs of modern development and whether our position among the societies of Europe and the world will be enhanced.

Poland's character at the turn of the century will be fundamentally influenced by the quality of educated cadres; by the extent to which they have been prepared for the execution of new tasks; and their ability to participate actively in progress. This makes it necessary to master the most modern achievements of science and technology; to improve the instruments of creative work; to tighten links with social and economic practice; and to stimulate interest in culture.

The party considers it a duty to increase knowledge; to satisfy the creative needs of the intelligentsia; to be its ally; and support whatever is new, progressive and innovative. This calls for both stimulating and appropriately rewarding fruitful exploration, for reducing demands, and for eliminating stagnation, unproductive habits, and poverty of imagination. While modernizing the workshops of the intelligentsia we will simultaneously strive to provide a definite improvement in rewards for innovative activity, and work that is more productive, complicated, and responsible, as well as give publicity to creative people and their achievements.

A constant battle is being waged for the intelligentsia, for its beliefs and its attitudes. The party will consistently work toward limiting and eradicating the damaging influence of anti-socialist forces and currents by convincing and uniting those who are undecided, and by making it easier for those who are lost and disoriented to find ways of serving Poland productively.

We would like to see more outstanding representatives of all generations of the intelligentsia and from all professional groups who are committed to the cause of socialist Poland in the ranks of the party. By strengthening intelligentsia membership in the party we will increase their influence on the formulation and implementation of our policies, and we will care for their prestige, earned through creative work, social activity and their ideological and moral attitudes.

VII. The Position of the PZPR on Fundamental Issues in the Contemporary World

National sovereignty, security of our frontiers, life in peace, and a worthy position in Europe and the world, belong to the valuable achievements attained during the socialist period of our country's history. These achievements have been won by Poland and have not been given to Poland unconditionally. These achievements call for continual efforts to be made to strengthen the state internally, and require the conduct of an effective and active foreign policy whose principles have been fully confirmed in their validity by practice.

Changes in the Contemporary World

We are living at a time of great change in the life of mankind. These changes are determined by the course of the international class struggle and the rhythm of the world revolutionary process; by the unprecedented tempo of scientific and technological advancement; and by the growth of global problems and dangers.

The victory of the October Revolution, the creation of the USSR -- the first worker-peasant state in history -- inaugurated a new era of progressive transformations for mankind. The power of the international workers movement has grown. Colonialism has collapsed. Imperialism has lost its ability to determine the future of the world.

Socialism as an ideology, a political movement, and a social system is exercising more and more of an influence on the destiny of mankind. The economic and political power of the socialist community is increasing: The community of states is strengthening the foundations of common security and is gaining allies all over the world. The socialist system displays a strong interest in making full use of the achievements of the human mind and those of technology, and in utilizing reserves of raw materials to satisfy the needs of man and to create conditions for man's all-round development. This is only possible under conditions of peace. The socialist countries of the world show constant support for peace. They see peace as a condition for making use of all the opportunities presented by a new system; for overcoming inherited backwardness or the terrible destruction and losses caused by war; for overcoming the economic gap which separates them from the industrially advanced countries of the world.

The development of productive forces under contemporary capitalism is not accompanied by appropriate social progress and the extension of genuine human rights. Working people continue to be exploited by the bourgeoisie. The structural crisis in which capitalism finds itself, manifests itself in, inter alia, the form of mass unemployment and the heightening of social inequalities. The use being made of the opportunities presented by the current phase in the scientific and technological revolution goes hand in hand with the absurd waste of the work of human hands. Reactionary and conservative ideological and political currents frequently gain prominence.

There are acute differences in the capitalist system: the wealth in evidence in the United States, Western Europe, and Japan on the one hand, and the extreme poverty found in many countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America on the other. Capitalism is being torn apart by its internal contradictions. As a result of neocolonialist exploitation the distance separating the developed countries from the developing ones continues to grow.

The United States is striving to impose its global strategy on the remaining capitalist countries with the aim of uniting them in a battle with socialism on a world scale. In wanting to check the course of history and halt revolutionary processes, imperialism is employing various means to attempt to impede the development and undermine the unity of the socialist community; to suppress liberation processes in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; and to keep them in a state of neocolonialist dependence.

Imperialism strives to give competition with socialism a confrontational character in every area of life. Imperialism is intensifying the arms race in order to undermine military equilibrium. It is applying a policy of economic and technological discrimination. Imperialism is conducting a propaganda war against the societies of socialist states and strives to discredit socialism in the international arena. To this end, imperialism also manipulates religious doctrines and the adherents of religions.

The arms race imposed by imperialism results in an immense waste of energy and resources which could be used for solving the most important problem facing mankind, and eliminating poverty and backwardness.

The Struggle for Peace s the Greatest Task Facing the Contemporary World

The confrontation policy pursued by imperialism places the main issue facing the world, that of peace and war, in a new light. Nuclear war would mean the destruction of mankind. The communist realizes this fully and regards the maintenance and consolidation of peace as a fundamental task in the fulfilment of the "proletariat's historical mission".

The class meaning of socialism's peace policy consists in paralysing attempts by imperialism to check and use force to reverse progressive changes that have taken place in the world, and to destroy the postwar peaceful order in Europe. Socialism sets a policy of peaceful coexistence and competition against the imperialist policy of confrontation.

The socialist states are against transferring ideological differences to the arena of relations between states. They believe that war can never be a way of solving the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. The historic rivalry between the two systems ought to be resolved by way of peaceful competition in various fields, and by allowing nations to choose freely the path of development that suits them.

The program on the complete and universal elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and the exclusion of weapons from space submitted by the general secretary of the

CPSU Central Committee provides a great opportunity to achieve this goal. The realization of this program would lead to mankind being completely freed from the threat of nuclear destruction and would make it possible to concentrate all the resources and achievements of civilization on peaceful development on the threshold of the new century. The PZPR and the Polish State pledge their full support for this historic initiative, and will work toward its realization.

Working people in capitalist countries are the allies of socialism in the struggle against the dangers threatening mankind and in striving to achieve social progress. Cooperation between peace movements and the forces of workers' movements; and the growth of mass aspirations for democracy create greater opportunities for countering the imperialist policy of force and diktat and increase the possibility of detente and cooperation.

A natural ally in the struggle for peace, social progress, and cooperation on a basis of equality, and the struggle against the imperialist policy of domination, are the developing countries, of which the majority are grouped together in the Nonaligned Movement. They are increasingly becoming a political force to be counted in the world. Many of these countries have embarked upon the path of socialist development or are moving in that direction. This is in keeping with the rules of mankind's historical development.

On the Just Resolution of Global Problems in the Contemporary World

The explosion of scientific discoveries and the unprecedented tempo of technological progress are revolutionizing productive forces. Nuclear energy, microelectronics, genetic and material engineering, and other revolutionary discoveries in science have initiated the beginning of a great turning-point whose dimensions and consequences we are still not in a position to fully comprehend. This breakthrough is leading to profound changes in production processes and in the whole are of civilization; it brings with it great opportunities for social and economic progress but simultaneously creates and exacerbates many extraordinarily complex problems in a situation in which the fundamental political and class contradictions in the contemporary world remain unresolved. These problems are: the rapid growth in population; the chronic undernourishment of hundreds of millions of people; the growth in the number of diseases associated with civilization; a weakening of social bonds and mass pathological phenomena; dangers to man's natural environment; the exhaustion of energy and raw material reserves; the absence or inadequate supply of water in growing regions of the world; the growing debt problem faced by many states.

The resolution of problems faced by all of mankind ought to be a natural area for cooperation between states with different sociopolitical systems. Conditions of peace and an enhancement of international cooperation are essential if we are to overcome dangers; satisfy the needs of development; make a breakthrough in finding new sources of food, energy, raw materials; and use the reserves present in the seas, the oceans, and in space for the good of all mankind.

Competition between socialism and capitalism must envisage a joint response to the great problems facing all mankind. Today's challenges are of a kind that cannot be met by any one of these systems working by itself. Capitalism is no longer in a position to do so, and socialism is not yet in a position to do so, although its productive possibilities are continuing to grow.

We are for formulating and disseminating qualitatively new ways and approaches to attaining progress by way of undertaking activities which promise a fast and at the same time a more balanced development of productive forces; the elimination of hunger and poverty; a new economic order; and the introduction of the ideals of freedom and justice into international life. The realization of this profoundly humanist vision embodies the historic mission of socialism and the historic tasks of creative Marxism-Leninism.

The Fundamental Principles of Polish Foreign Policy

The essence and main goal of party and state foreign policy is to ensure the best possible external conditions for the successful development of socialist construction in Poland and to protect the vital interests of the nation -- sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the security of the country.

The realization of this goal is served by the enduring and fundamental principles of foreign policy -- friendship, fraternity, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states; solidarity with peoples fighting for national liberation and social progress; and constructive and peaceful coexistence with states with different sociopolitical systems.

The consistent implementation of these principles since the end of World War II has ensured the security of People's Poland, given it peace, and accorded it a fitting place in the community of socialist states and among the nations of the world. For the first time in history our borders are secure, and do not divide neighbours but unite them in friendship and cooperation. Valuable and universally respected achievements in Polish foreign policy are initiatives such as: the plan for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in central Europe, the plan to freeze nuclear weapons located in this area; working for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; giving concrete form to the idea of educating the world in the spirit of peace at the forum of the United Nations; and participation in international commissions and the U.N. peace-keeping force.

We will continue and develop all those elements in Polish foreign policy which have determined its strength and its importance until now -- patriotism and internationalism, a profoundly peaceful character, boldness in proposing initiatives and a high degree of activity; and receptivity to all constructive proposals. We express our readiness to cooperate with every government, movement, and social force which strives to make the world a secure place for all people.

Poland -- A Staunch Link in the Socialist Community

The cornerstone of Polish foreign policy is and will continue to be alliance with the Soviet Union. It is based on ideological and class unity and lies in the interests of both countries and overall European security. The historic achievements and the economic and defense capacity of the greatest socialist country in the world constitutes the fundamental guarantee of Poland's security, its territorial integrity, and the inviolability of its borders.

The consistent implementation of the long-term program on the development of economic, and scientific and technological cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union will be of great importance for the development prospects of our country. The PZPR will also strive to further strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two societies of our countries by expanding cooperation between workforces, youth and the populations of towns, voivodships, and regions situated in the border area.

The strengthening of Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation, the consoliation of unity in goals, and comprehensive joint action with the party of Lenin will constitute one of the PZPR program tasks.

We advocate the continual development of relations in all fields with the CSSR, the GDR, and other socialist states.

Poland's place in the socialist community of states, the Warsaw Pact, and CEMA, and among equal and friendly nations is permanent and immutable. Poland's importance and role in the world depends to a large extent on its position in the socialist community.

The principles of our party program and the most important tasks in Polish foreign policy are: constant and active participation in the development of the community of socialist countries; the consolidation of the community's strength and cohesion and its economic and defensive capacity; the enhancement of equal, mutually advantageous fraternal cooperation on the basis of Leninist principles; and increasing use of the opportunities provided by the socialist integration of CEMA countries.

The PZPR will work together with fraternal parties at solving key issues in our system: producing a fundamental rise in productivity and raising economic efficiency; accelerating the processes of the scientific and technological revolution, improving the planning and direction system, and developing socialist democracy.

Socialism is entering a new and important phase of development. The experience of far-reaching goals contained in the new edition of the CPSU program, and the tasks set out in it -- to double Soviet production capacity by the end of this century, to introduce into practice the most recent achievements of the scientific and technological revolution; and to accelerate progress in all areas of life -- open up new horizons before the Soviet Union and before our entire community, prospects for increasing the power and the position of the community in the world.

Polish Foreign Policy Activity Aimed at Promoting Peace

Our party and state adhere firmly to the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with differing sociopolitical systems and will continue to work for security in Europe and the world. The inviolable territorial and political order established at Yalta and Potsdam creates a strong base for this. Poland was one of the initiators of the historic Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and it will continue to strive actively for the implementation of the Final Act, and for consolidating and developing the Helsinki process.

We are for overcoming the division of Europe into two opposing military blocs. Together with our allies we declare our readiness to disband the Warsaw Pact immediately if the North Atlantic Pact were disbanded.

The nations of our continent should enter the new century with a new system of European security, one that is free from nuclear weapons and the threat of their use; and is characterized by broad and mutual exchange in the material and spiritual fields, and by cooperation in solving common economic, social, and ecological problems. We are for raising the effectiveness of international efforts in the ecological field by the introduction of universal principles permitting the free transfer of experience, licences, and technology which aid the protection of the natural environment.

We wish to achieve a full normalization of relations between Poland and the FRG on the basis of the treaty signed on the 7 December 1980. This calls for combatting all revisionist and revanchist currents which attempt to question and undermine the peaceful order in Europe established at Yalta and Potsdam.

We attach great importance to making greater use of the United Nations Organization in strengthening world peace and security; and in shaping international relations in accordance with the principles of equality, development, cooperation, and in the spirit of detente and common concern for the destiny of mankind.

Poland will continue to participate actively in multilateral negotiations devoted to reducing arms and disarmament, and will contribute toward achieving success at these negotiations while continuing to respect the principle of equal security. Acting in this spirit we will continue to bring influence to bear on our partners engaged in bilateral contacts and talks; and will strive to develop a constructive dialogue with all the states of East and West, to create an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust and to expand and enhance equal relations based on a principle of equality. We believe that a study on the manifold consequences of the militarization of space conducted by outstanding experts of various nationalities would serve as an important warning against the introduction of weapons into space.

Proceeding from the assumption that peace is indivisible, the PZPR is for eliminating the conflicts and sources of tension which exist in various regions of the world. In its postwar history Poland has played and continues to play an active role in the peaceful settlement of regional disputes and conflicts. The PZPR will continue this policy and the activities linked with it.

Our party supports the just struggles for independence, self-determination, and social progress being waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and their fight against imperialism, neocolonialism, and racial discrimination. The similarity of goals and aspirations creates a suitable platform for the comprehensive development of relations between Poland and nonaligned, developing countries and in particular with those countries that are socialism-oriented or governed by progressive revolutionary-democratic parties. This constitutes a permanent course in our foreign policy and a great area for mutually advantageous international cooperation.

We are for the development of broad, nondiscriminatory economic cooperation with all states on the basis of partnership and mutual advantage. We will strive to remove all artificial barriers and obstacles to economic cooperation and to cooperation in the fields of science and technology; and will work to strengthen trust in world economic relations, and to reconstruct them on the basis of just and democratic principles. We believe it is essential to reorganize the international financial system and to find a comprehensive and just solution to the debt problem faced by many states. This is the aim behind the Polish proposal to create an international center for research into the problems of debt and development in Poland under the auspices of the general secretary of the United Nations.

Another important area for Polish foreign policy activity is that of promoting our country's many cultural achievements abroad, and to develop international cultural cooperation for the purpose of enriching national culture and culture in general, as well as increasing trust and cooperation between nations.

Strengthening the Power and Unity of the International Communist and Workers' Movement

The PZPR constitutes an inseparable part of the international communist and workers movement and is permanently attached to the movement by bonds of proletarian internationalism. History has clearly shown how important these bonds are for Poland. The solidarity and support provided by fraternal communist parties in the PZPR's struggle against threats to socialism reaffirmed the importance of these ties. In strengthening the party and the people's state; in successfully discharging tasks in the socialist construction of Poland; and in developing the country's economic capacity and its power to defend itself; we are combining the fulfillment of national duties and responsibilities with an increased contribution to realizing the aims of the international communist movement and those of all progressive social forces.

The development of our movement under very different conditions in different states, regions, and continents has resulted in diverse methods and forms of operation being adopted by communist and workers parties. Differences in the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle being conducted by particular parties in both foreign and domestic policy should not constitute an obstacle to strengthening the unity of the movement on fundamental issues; particularly on such issues as the struggle for peace and social progress and combatting imperialism's reactionary crusade.

It is our firm position that what unites communist parties is incomparably more important than the things about which they may differ. Guided by proletarian internationalism, the PZPR will work for the development and enhancement of cooperation with communist and workers parties and for strengthening the unity of our movement in the struggle for peace. social progress, and the rights of the masses.

We are for evolving broad cooperation on these issues with socialist and social-democratic parties as well as other progressive social and democratic currents. Ideological and political difference should not constitute an obstacle to achieving this.

It is the party's patriotic and internationalist goal to strengthen Poland's role and position in international life. We will strive toward this by giving a new impetus to the socioeconomic development of the country; by actively participating in furthering the progress of the socialist community and increasing its power; by making Poland play a more active part in the political, economic, and cultural life of Europe and the world. Whoever wants to see a truly strong Poland that enjoys world respect and authority should know that he can contribute to this by working honestly at increasing our material and spiritual assets.

It is the party's profound desire to see the PPR realize the aspirations of our nation, and make a contribution which befits its history and its present-day possibilities to the universal causes of freedom and democracy, progress and peace, and to the realization of socialism's historic mission.

VIII. The PZPR -- The Leading Force in Construction of Socialism

The Marxist-Leninist party's leading role in society -- one of direction in the state and of service with regard to the workers class, working people, and the nation -- is a necessary condition, a principle, and a rule for the creation of socialism.

The PZPR -- the party of the workers class is strongly linked to the destiny of the Polish nation, it springs from it, and is part of it. In paving the way for progressive social change and fulfilling its role of leadership and guidance, the party:

-- evaluates and analyses the state of socialist changes, their attendant conditions and contradictions, new problems, and developmental needs and trends;
-- formulates a program for development in consultation with the workers' class and society;
-- organizes the collective effort of working people, gives expression to their aspiration and desires, shapes a socialist social consciousness, and conducts a cadres policy which is in line with the requirements of socialist development;

The party exercises an influence on the main areas of life in a socialist society: the economy, social relations, socialis democracy and culture, and takes steps to ensure their harmonious development. The party performs this role using political means -- by inspiring and convincing, organizing, and by coordinating and controlling activity.

New Tasks

The development of socialist construction -- the implementation of the present program -- will place complex new tasks before our party. These tasks will reflect the growth in the material needs and political aspirations of society; the qualitative transformations in productive forces and the application of appropriate production relations to them; the next stages in the process of eliminating class differences; and the enhancement of the socialist character of social relations and people's consciousness.

To be equal to the tasks contained in the program the party itself will have to develop and improve itself. The composition and quality of its ranks will have to develop accordingly and it will have to increase its role as a center of initiative and innovation; as a force inspiring all the creative manifestations of human activity; as a driving force behind the processes of technological and economic progress, behind democracy and self-management, and behind socialist consciousness and morality.

The party, a live and dynamic organism, will remain the same -- faithful to Marxist-Leninist ideology, closely linked to the workers' class, and working people, guided in its internal life by democratic centralism, and benefitting from the experiences of the Polish and the international workers' movement. But at the same time it cannot remain the same because it ought to enrich the content of its work, improve its organizational structure, make use of the achievements of science in its search for ever more efficient forms and methods of operation, and divest itself of everything that weakens it.

To continually raise the level of its performance of the role of leadership, direction, and service in the promotion of socialist progress in social relations, the economy, and culture, the party will:

-- observe principles and boldly search for the best solutions for realizing these principles;
-- strengthen and enrich the party's ideological and class identity, in line with new needs;
-- observe tradition and add creative new chapters to tradition.

This is the path that leads to winning trust, enhancing credibility, and to the party being equal to new tasks.

Leading and Serving the Workers Class, Working People, and the Nation

The PZPR arose from the sociopolitical needs and aspirations of the workers' class and it represents and realizes workers' interests, aspirations and ideals. It is the workers' class' highest form of organization, its revolutionary vanguard and the guarantee of its leading role in society.

The party will:

-- strengthen the workers class core of its ranks;
-- increase worker participation in party elected authorities, as aktivs and in the apparat, and in commissions and teams;
-- ensure that workers evaluations, proposals, and aspirations have a greater influence on the content and climate of everyday activity.

Mindful of experience, the party attaches particular importance to affirming and strengthening its workers' class character, to realizing the aspirations of peasants and the intelligentsia, and to serving the nation.

The party can only execute its tasks if it maintains close ties with the mass of working people who are not party members. To be the vanguard means to be among them, to organize their social movement, to pay close attention to their views and opinions, to perform a role of ideological and political leadership with respect to them, to shape and realize their aspirations, and to be necessary for them in the resolution of everyday problems as well as from the historical perspective.

The party can only lead when all its cells are really making progress in realizing the ideological, political, employment, and moral values of socialism. It can only win trust when it stands at the forefront of the battle against crime, injustice, arrogance, incompetence, and all that runs counter to the ideals and principles of socialism.

Marxism-Leninism is the Compass and Sword of the PZPR

The fruitful application and development of Marxism-Leninism is a party program task. This calls for creative activity in theoretical work and in increasing scientific analyses of social reality. In performing this task the party is guided by fidelity to the fundamental theoretical and methodological principles of Marxism-Leninism, by a class approach to examining reality; by a close union of theory and practice; and by making use of the experiences of fraternal socialist states and the international revolutionary movement.

The PZPR is against ideological principles being under valued in social practice; against treating these principles as a facade and separating them from life. The PZPR considers it its constant duty to fight revisionist and opportunistic interpretations of Marxism-Leninism, class solidarism, the concepts of political pluralism, the artificial exaggeration of national difference, and social-democratic concepts of the way in which parties function. The PZPR rejects dogmatic and sectarian tendencies which view Marxism as a closed system; try to force new phenomena into old patterns; and engage in revolutionary phrasemongering, demoguery, and political adventurism.

The introduction of improvements to the training system is important for raising the ideological level of the party and strengthening its unity. With the help of intraparty information, it should help in the formulation of accurate goals and taking appropriate decisions; raise the level of party members' knowledge and political culture; and equip them with effective and convincing arguments. Concern should be shown for improving the skills of lecturers and for ensuring that they have the best possible conditions for working.

The party will select appropriate options for national development and will arrive at a decision by comparing and examining various views and proposals which are motivated by ideological committment or based on thorough knowledge. Party activity is based on the principle of intraparty discussion and constant dialogue with society. At the same time the party will act against attempts to undermine its unity, and violate its principles and political line and will ensure that what is decided as result of discussion is realized in a disciplined fashion.

Strengthening Democratic Centralism

The party recognizes the principles of democratic centralism as a foundation of activity, and the party strives to realize these principles in all its cells, primary and department organizations, and in all areas of its internal life. Basing activity on the mutual interpenetration of democracy and centralism; the union of discussion and criticism with the disciplined and efficient realization of resolutions; and combining effective guidance from supreme cells with initiative and independence of lower cells, constitute the Leninist norms of our party.

The enhancement of forms of participation by party members in decisionmaking, formulation of party program goals, and realization of these goals will be based on the Leninist norms of our party. Intraparty discussions will be initiated; the principle of reporting the results of these discussions will be observed, steps will be taken to ensure the openness of party life; joint action will be coupled with individual responsibility, and team members will discharge their responsibilities in a systematic fashion.

Elections of party ruling bodies and the principles underlying the election process should increasingly serve to bring to the fore people who are active, ideologically committed, possess experience, and enjoy the confidence of their comrades, and to increase the role of workers and peasants in the work of ruling party bodies.

In recent years we have accorded criticism and self-criticism an important place. We must ensure that the entire party, at all levels, has adopted this as an instrument of everyday functioning in the sense contained in the principle that the relationship of the party "to its own errors is one of the most important and surest criteria for judging the authority of the party and for determining whether it is discharging its duties with regard to its class and the working masses correctly" (Lenin). The party will create conditions for objective criticism based on the strength of facts and argument, will oppose all attempts to silence criticism, and will counter a formal approach toward critical views and proposals.

It is a party task to continually consolidate and develop the item of closely examining and reacting efficiently to letters, complaints, and proposals directed to the Central Committee and party echelons at various levels, to national and regional organs of the state administration, and to social and cooperative organizations.

The party considers it a worthy goal to make the democratic principles and practice of party life a model for other areas of sociopolitical life and to exercise a positive influence on political culture and the nature of everyday relations between people.

The following must constitute the essence of the party's Leninist style of working: the unity of word and deed; the ability to define tasks of greatest importance and to concentrate energy on their execution; and to base party activity on scientific grounds.

The party will make increasing use of the findings of the social sciences and will adopt resolutions and decisions after consulting expert opinion. The party will systematically study the results of public opinion polls in order to acquaint itself with the mood of society and the state of social attitudes and social consciousness.

However, it is a matter of the greatest importance to achieve a high level of efficiency in the realization of resolutions, programs of activity, and goals and tasks; to convince working people of the value of these objectives, to organize them efficiently, and to execute the decisions that have been adopted. Effective actions are based on realism and objectivity. Realism means conducting a comprehensive analysis of the situation, accurately assessing available resources, and deciding which methods produce the desired results and which have turned into unproductive routines no longer appropriate to the challenges of the time. Realism is a constant search for methods of operation which result in the effective translation of ideas into practice, and the improvement of existing methods. Objectivity is the organizational ability to combine objective assessments with, concrete actions, and the exercise of close and fair control.

The Leninist style of work requires overcoming passivity; combatting formalism and bureaucratic habits, campaign-mongering that takes the place of honest hard work, and work that is performed purely for the sake of appearances, as well as superficial activity.

An essential condition for effective party work is control over the implementation of resolutions by all party cells. An important role in this area is performed by party auditing commissions. They, together with party control commissions, provide the party with a source of analyses, surveys, and observations concerning individual aspects of party life. It is essential to continually improve control methods, to identify the causes of weaknesses and shortcomings and to increase the scope of assistance afforded party control bodies. There is a need to create a unified straightforward, and comprehensible system for assessing the effectiveness of work conducted by individual party echelons and organizations.

The control system should provide the necessary conditions for improving party work at all levels. It constitutes an essential part of the early warning system and ensures against routine, sham activity, and superficial assessments. It should serve to disseminate new experience and new methods.

A Party That Makes High Demands

In the exercise of leadership, the number of party members, the extent to which they are representative of society, and their distribution are important for the workers' class and the nation. The party attaches particular importance to strengthening its workers class core; to the presence of the party in all workers class communities, and to raising membership comprised of farmers, and persons drawn from the academic and artistic communities.

The strength of the party is not determined solely by the size of membership but above all by the quality of its ranks. The party will take care to ensure that its ranks are composed of people who are ideologically and ethically sensitive, modest, independent of mind and independent of deed, and prepared to undertake difficult tasks, to defend the party line and unite the party around its program and its policies. Those who are models of sociopolitical committment, occupational activeness, and adherence to ethical standards in their communities do not look for honors or privileges in the party but for the opportunity to actively participate in the realization of socialist ideals.

It is the duty of the party to actively engage in moulding the consciousness of its members in accordance with the three sources of engagement: the acceptance of socialist ideology, the party's political program, and a scientific world outlook. These criteria define the Marxist-Leninist character of the PZPR.

The PZPR will resolutely and steadfastly overcome the phenomena of dishonesty, arrogance and high-handedness, hypocrisy, disregard for man, and the circumventing or bending of rules and norms. The party will expect its members to discharge their duties toward their families conscientiously, to educate their children in a spirit of patriotism and internationalism, and to display respect for work and social property. These responsibilities should be executed in accordance with the principles of socialist morality.

Primary party organizations should regularly evaluate the attitudes of their members and the fulfilment of statutory obligations; assign tasks to individuals and check the execution of these tasks.

Party control commissions perform an essential role in determining the high quality of party ranks. The party will improve the preventative and educative aspects of their work.

Political and Organizational Tasks

The party will steadfastly work to strengthen the position of its primary organizations and to raise their level of activeness. These organizations constitute the most important element in the party structure and activity and serve as a link between the party and working people. Their duty is to solve problems in the communities in which they operate and to reconcile the interests of these communities with interests of society as a whole. Developing the program, initiative, cadres, control, and ideological and training functions of POP's [primary party organizations] constitutes the main course for strengthening the influence of the PZPR on all areas of social life. To this end, the powers of primary organizations will be consolidated and expanded, and their methods of operation will be improved.

There must be a fundamental increase in the role of POP meetings as forums for the exchange of ideas, for formulating work programs for party organizations, for decision-making, for assessing the implementation of decisions, and for the exchange and dissemination of positive experience.

The party attaches particular importance to the operation of cells in workers' class communities, especially those in large workplaces. The search for new and more effective forms of operation and the enhancement of program content and program stimulae also calls for party activity in the countryside and among the artistic community. The party will devote increasing attention to the involvement of its members in representative organs, self-management bodies, and social organizations. This activity serves and will serve the full realization of the powers and functions of the cells of socialist democracy.

The party will step up activity in residential areas. Assisting resident's self-management councils, inspiring and organizing mass political work; cooperation with allied movements, Pron, and social organizations; control of administrative work and housing cooperative administrations; combatting bureaucratic delays; care for people who require support and assistance -- are the main elements in this field of activity.

Work among young people constitutes an important party task. PZPR committees and organizations should strive to step up activity among young people, support their useful initiatives; display concern about conditions of study, work, and recreation; and create opportunities for career advancement. In this way youth should be drawn closer to the program of the party and its policies. Finding candidate members among young people is determined by the effectiveness of influence excised on ZSP, the Polish student association, and the Polish scout union. Active work in the cells of these organizations provides a natural opportunity for acquainting youth with the party program and for preparing youth for entry into the ranks of the party.

Party organizations and echelons are obliged to devote particular attention to recently admitted party members; to care for the development of their political maturity; the effectiveness of training and; to ensuring that they discharge their duties; and to encouraging them to want to excel.

Involvement in socialist youth associations is a fundamental task for young party members. In performing this task they should realise the leading role of the party with respect to the youth movement and strengthen the ideological and political influence of the party on the younger generation.

The expansion of ideological and political work among women constitutes an important party task, as is increasing their membership of the PZPR and creating conditions for strengthening the role of the Polish women's organization and for raising its level of activity.

Regional echelons constitute an important area of party activity. The responsibility for accurately identifying needs will increase, as will their responsibility for realizing the interests and rights of working people. They will play an increasingly important role in developing effective forms of party activity, in realizing general aims at the local level, and in solving issues which determine local development.

Party echelons must remain as close as possible to the life and the work of primary party organizations -- the base of party membership; and provide confirmation -- by taking appropriate initiatives and by displaying organizational efficiency -- of the ability of the PZPR to provide leadership at the local level as well as the national one.

Systematic work with aktivs constitutes an important element in improving party work and increasing party influence on people's councils, self-management bodies, trade unions, and social organizations. The party will take steps to raise the level of aktivs' sociopolitical knowledge, and to improve their skills in working with people. The party will also attach constant and great importance to increasing worker and peasant aktivs and to devoting attention to young and female aktivs.

A committed and competent professional apparat equipped with a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and having a valuable fund of political experience behind it, combined with direct ties with the workers class and working people is essential to the party. We will increase the number of activists who have experience as workers in the ranks of the political workers, who are drawn from all social and occupational groups. The party places great demands on political workers and works to improve their manner of operation. Selection will be conducted with this in mind, and the system for raising the skills and qualifications of political workers will be improved. The principle that the apparat serves elected ruling bodies will be consistently upheld and conditions will be created for improving the manner in which these bodies execute the tasks put before them.

An Active Cadres Policy

The party will conduct an active cadres policy -- one of the main ways in which it exercises its leading role in the state. Without taking party affiliation, age, or sex into account, the party will create advancement opportunities for people who are active and courageous, talented and ambitious; people who possess a high level of knowledge, high qualifications and moral virtues, and are committed to the socialist state. The party will conduct an open cadres policy and will take care to see that cadres policy meets with public approval.

Appointments to managerial positions should be based on the principle of selection from among several candidates. The road to managerial positions will not be open to "our people" but to those who are the best -- the best in the party and the best among nonparty members. In realizing this principle the cadres reserve -- which is essential for the correct selection, distribution, and advancement of cadres -- will be utilized. We are for the efficient rotation and justified transfer of managerial cadres between particular administrative areas and levels, for the planned and systematic appointment of younger cadres to managerial positions, and for being bold in entrusting young people with managerial positions.

The continual professional and political education of cadres is an area of cadres policy that requires particular attention. This education should be more and more closely connected with practical skills in solving social, political, and economic problems and the tasks resulting from technological progress.

Managerial cadres who excel should be valued, supported, and receive the respect due to them. At the same time, the party advocates the dismissal of people who are unable to cope with the demands generated by the needs of the country and its development.

Periodic and appropriately conducted reviews and assessments of the performance of managerial cadres should become a more and more effective tool for overcoming weaknesses and errors in the work of cadres.

The 21st Century Lies Ahead of Us

That which today still belongs to the realms of dream and imagination must become the goal of tomorrow's work and be transformed into reality. Difficulties and obstacles cannot prevent us from thinking about the future. Shaping the future in line with needs of the nation should unite all patriotic forces. To achieve the future that we desire the following conditions are essential:

-- the unity of the nation and the union of its creative energies around the tasks that the further socialist development of Poland entails;
-- the improvement of the structure and organization of our collective life, the steadfast continuation of the socialist reform of the state and the economy;
-- changes in social awareness appropriate to the demands of the contemporary arena in the spheres of thought and work;
-- the union of older generation's wisdom and experience with the energy, criticism, and inventiveness of youth.

Time should not be wasted on fruitless argument. What is needed is a common effort to overcome the obstacles, solve the problems, and achieve the goals appropriate to the Polish people's ideological values, national ambitions, and social needs.

Socialism, its principles, and its goals create the broadest possible platform for uniting society in a common effort, for directing national energies toward the mobilization and utilization of the reserves which lie in scientific, technological and organizational progress, in the social productivity of labor and economic efficiency, and in the realization of the principles of social justice, people's democracy and observance of the law.

The construction of socialism according to Marxist-Leninist principles is a continual process of change, the consolidation of achievements and the overcoming of existing states in order to arrive at better ones, ones that are closer to our collective goals. It is a continual process of enriching institutional forms of solutions, of improving the ways in which power is exercised, improving economic and political structures, and creating better conditions for combining the scientific and technological revolution with socialist humanist values, with the ideals of equality, justice, and democracy.

Only the continual transformation of these forms of our collective life, only by replacing what is outmoded and obsolete with what is new, better, and more appropriate to the needs of our developing society, will we be able to attain modernity, efficiency, and effectiveness -- the essential conditions for material plenty and the spiritual blossoming of our society. This process must make use of the wealth and diversity of people's opinions and views, creative dissatisfaction, and criticism, which all pave the way toward finding new and more effective solutions. The party wants to make the continual drive toward progress, toward enhancing the content and forms of party life the characteristic feature of its work.

People who are thirsty for knowledge, receptive to progress, united in effort, industrious, productive and well-organized, and for whom cooperation in work and creativity combined with a spirit of honorable competition inspires initiative and inventiveness and constitutes the most profound motive for activity can succeed in building a prosperous tomorrow for socialist Poland.

Subsequent periods in our national history will befit our best traditions; if a new work ethos becomes widespread, the word Pole will become a synonym for a good expert, an efficient organizer, and a prudent manager. This will happen if the ability to think in terms of the state interest, a conscientious attitude to civic duties, and activeness and discipline in discharging these duties gain general currency in our nation. A great change of this kind requires long-term activities in the organization of work and the system of management in the forms of state life, in cadres policy, in the patterns of consumption and distribution, in education and upbringing, in propaganda and information, and in culture in the broad sense.

A change of generations is taking place before our eyes. The generation educated during the course of the great struggles for independence and a socialist and people's reality is departing. An ever greater role is being played by a generation which grew up under a different system.

Socialist Poland at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries will be the socialist Poland built by today's generations of Poles; and by the younger generation in particular. Those who are in the process of acquiring knowledge, experience, and are starting work today will be deciding the future of the nation, the state, and the form of social life tomorrow. The party attaches particular importance to transferring its entire stock of historical experiences to the younger generation as an essential component in the formation of present-day conceptions of socialist Poland and their responsibilities toward it.

There is no more important task than instilling in youth a manner of thinking and acting which is subordinated to the good of the nation and the state, is based on the affirmation of the fundamental principles underlying the system, and stems from real conditions and facts; a manner of thinking and acting which combines what is demanded with what can be achieved, is critical toward the shortcomings in reality, and is characterized by innovativeness and determination to effect change and improvement.

The party will support the longings and aspirations of the younger generation to lead an active, creative life that hastens toward the future. The party regards it as normal that the younger generation wants to lead a better and fuller life; that it wants life to be colorful and interesting and the country in which it has come of age to be organized more wisely and to provide more. The party wants future generations of young Poles to grow up and enter life believing in their abilities and the possibilities that lie ahead of them, and to be able to continue the work of constructing socialism independently and creatively and with a sound knowledge and an ideological will.

Imagination and boldness of thought; a readiness to take sensible risks and make necesary sacrifices; criticism; determination in combatting wrongdoing and overcoming obstacles as they accumulate; opposition to routine and a lack of imagination, these are the natural characteristics of youth. In conjunction with the espousal of ideology, knowledge, and initiative, they create an essential fund of capital for the realization of the party program -- the program of the nation.

The main goal of the PZPR is to build a Poland that is modern, socially just, democratic and derives a feeling of dignity and greatness from its material and cultural achievements, from its advanced forms of social life, and from an appropriate place among the other nations and states of the world. The road that leads to this is socialism created and accepted by the workers' class and society; socialism that is open to practical experience, and continually enriched by the creative achievements of thought and practice.

The party is convinced that by going along the path of socialism, the workers' class and the Polish nation will overcome everything that hinders its progress and pulls it backwards; that the workers' class and the Polish nation will meet the challenges of the present-day and the future; and will strengthen the foundations for a secure existence, for modern development, and the existence of social plenty in the fatherland.

CEAUSESCU SENDS MESSAGE TO AQUINO ON ELECTION

AU040855 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Feb 86 p 5

[Text] To Her Excellency, Mrs Corazon Aquino, president of the Republic of the Philippines, Manila.

On the occasion of your proclamation as president of the Republic of the Philippines, I take particular pleasure in extending to you, on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf, cordial greetings and best wishes for health and personal happiness in your activity devoted to the progress and well-being of the friendly Philippine people.

I express my belief that the relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between Romania and the Philippines will continue to develop in the future, in the interest of our friendly peoples and our countries, and of the cause of peace and international understanding.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

LEADERS OFFER CONDOLENCES ON PALME'S DEATH

Ceausescu Message to King

AU041032 Bucharest SCIENTEIA in Romanian 2 Mar 86 p 6

[Text] To his Majesty Carl XVI Gustaf, King of Sweden, Stockholm

With deep sorrow I have learned of the death of the Swedish prime minister Olof Palme as a result of an attempt on his life.

We indignantly condemn this criminal act and I convey to you and to the Swedish government sincere condolences

I extend all my compassion to the bereaved family.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

Condolences at Swedish Embassy

AU041557 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1507 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/3/1986 -- On behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu, of the State Council, of the Government and of the SDUF [Social Democracy and Unity Front] National Council condolences were offered at the Embassy of Sweden in Bucharest on the death of Prime Minister Olof Palme. Feelings of deep compassion for the family of the deceased Prime MInister Olof Palme were also expressed.

Condolences were presented by Gheorghe Radulescu, vice president of the State Council, Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister, Iosif Uglar, vice-chairman of the SDUF National Council, Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dumitry Apostoiu, presidential and State Council secretary.

Those present observed a minute's silence and signed the book of condolence.

REPORTS ON ITALIAN DEFENSE MINISTER'S VISIT

Spadolini Arrives

LD041427 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1327 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Mar (TANJUG) -- Giovanni Spadolini, minister of defense and president of the Republican Party of Italy, arrived in Belgrade today at the head of a military delegation on a friendly and working visit to our country and Armed Forces. The high-ranking guest from the friendly and neighboring country was welcomed at Batajnica Airport by Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense. Also present at the welcoming ceremony were Colonel General Milan Daljevic, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense; Lieutenant Colonel General Anton Tus, commander of the Air Force and antiaircraft defense; Rear Admiral Milun Nikolic; Massimo Castaldo, ambassador of the Republic of Italy to Yugoslavia; Brigadier General Lorenzo Audizio, defense attache; Lieutenant Colonel Enso Somani, assistant military military attache for the Air Force; and Frigate Captain Mauricio Gemanani, assistant naval defense attache.

As soon as he arrived in Belgrade, Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini visited the Josip Broz Tito memorial center, where he laid flowers on Tito's grave, paid his respects, and signed the visitors' book.

Mamula, Spadolini Hold Talks

LD042231 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Mar (TANJUG) -- Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, this afternoon met with Giovanni Spadolini, minister of defense and president of the Republican Party of Italy, who is heading an Italian military delegation on a 3-day friendly and working visit to our country and Armed Forces.

The talk was informative and took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Most attention was devoted to inter-army and overall cooperation between the two neighboring countries. Views were also exchanged on some topical questions of the military and political situation in the world and Europe, with particular attention paid to the sitution in the Mediterranean area. It was judged that the development of good-neighbor cooperation between Yugoslavia and Italy satisfies the interests of the two countries and contributes to strengthening peace and stability in Europe and the world. It was stated that this visit represents a new stimulus to the further development of cooperation in the spirit of the Ossimo accords and the Helsinki conference documents.

The talk was also attended by Colonel General Zorko Canadi, chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army; Colonel General Milan Daljevic, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense; Lieutenant Colonel General Anton Tus, Air Force and air defense commander; Massimo Castaldo, ambassador of the Republic of Italy to the SFRY; and Brigadier General Lorenzo Audizio, military attache of the Republic of Italy to the SFRY.

The Italian minister of defense later visited the Josip Broz Tito memoraial center and the tomb of the unknown warrior on Mt Avala, where he laid flowers and paid his respects.